

CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT
OF THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

(33)



CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT
OF THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

BEING A

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DURING THE CELEBRATIONS OF JULY, 1923

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PREFATORY NOTE

A CONSIDERABLE sum having remained in the Hospitality Fund after the cost of the Centenary celebrations had been defrayed, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society decided to devote this, supplemented by the generosity of some members, to the printing of a Supplement, to be presented to all members of the Society and all Delegates who attended the celebrations, containing a selection from the papers communicated at the Centenary. At the final meetings the Chairmen of the Sections had requested the authors to leave or send their MSS., and in selecting papers for publication in the Supplement they have in the main been guided by the dates at which the papers have been sent in; for the number of pages had necessarily to be limited. Papers which have been printed elsewhere have not been reproduced, except in one case, where the fact of the publication was unknown. In some cases, where the paper seemed of exceptional importance, but either its length or the date of its arrival excluded it from the Supplement, it is hoped that room will be found for it in the *Journal*.

The Chairmen of the four sections into which this volume is divided have been responsible for the matter admitted into their respective sections, while the general editorship of the volume has been committed to Professor D. S. Margoliouth, efficiently aided by the Secretary. The Index has been put together out of Indices provided by the authors of their respective papers, which should ensure that nothing of importance has been omitted. Each author has been allowed to retain his own system of transliteration.

The Programme of the proceedings at the Centenary is here reproduced.

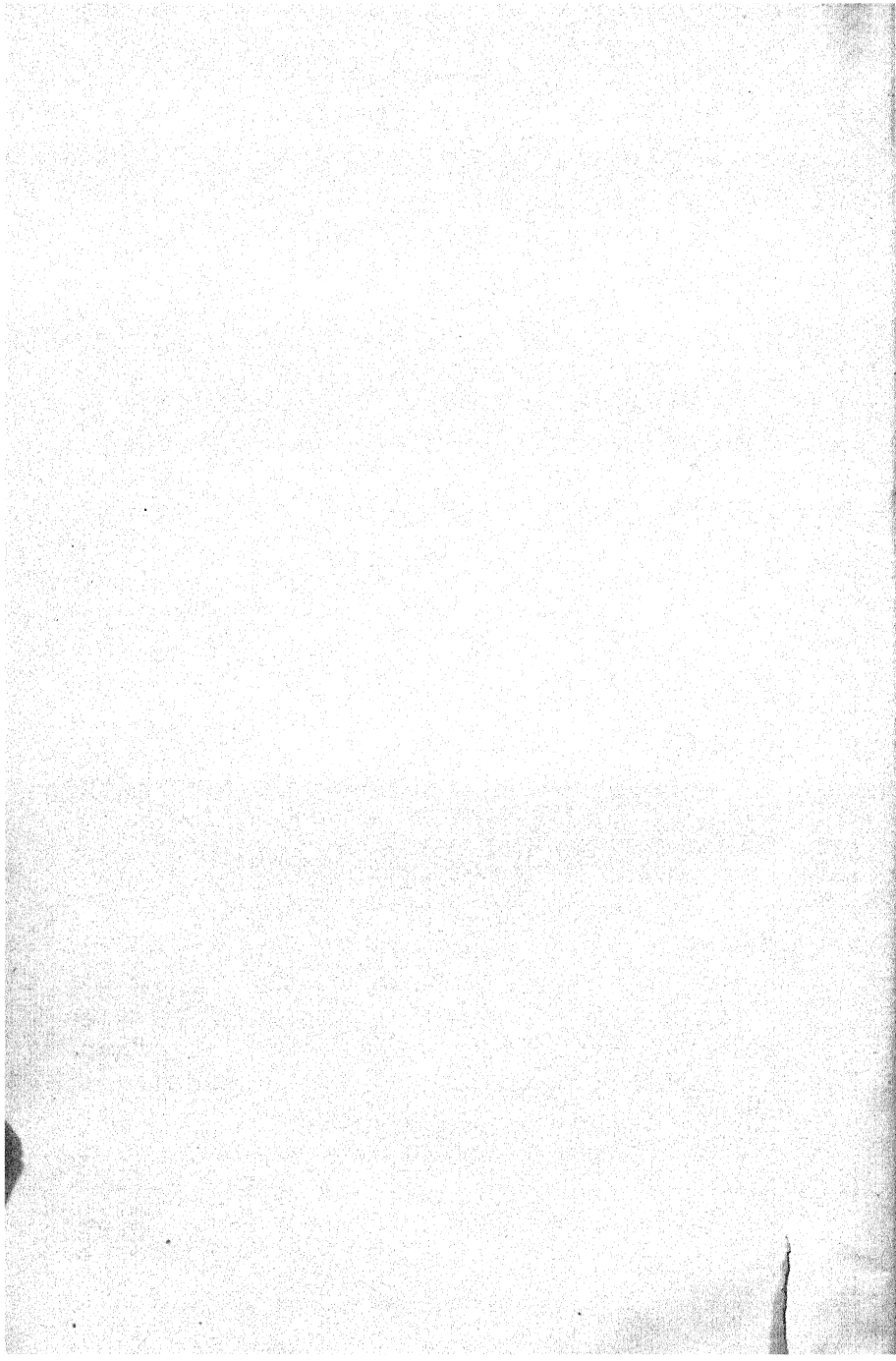


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CENTENARY PROGRAMME

TUESDAY, 17TH JULY, 1923

- 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. : Reception of the Delegates at the Royal Society's Rooms, Burlington House. H.R.H. The Prince of Wales closes the proceedings.
- 1.15 p.m. for 1.30 p.m. : H.M.'s Government offers Luncheon to Delegates at Claridge's Hotel, Brook Street.
- 3.15 p.m. : The Delegates and Members meet their Sectional Chairmen at 74 Grosvenor Street.
- 4.30 p.m. : Tea at 74 Grosvenor Street for all Delegates and Members.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH JULY

- 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. : Sectional Meetings at 74 Grosvenor Street.
- 2.30 p.m. to 4 p.m. : Visit to School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C.
- 4 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. : Reception by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, Cheapside, E.C.

THURSDAY, 19TH JULY

- 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. : Sectional Meetings at 74 Grosvenor Street.
Invitation to visit the University of Oxford.
- 4 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. : Reception by the British and Foreign Bible Society and inspection of its Library.
- 8.45 p.m. : Conversazione of the India Society at 21 Cromwell Road to meet M. Émile Senart.

FRIDAY, 20TH JULY

- 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. : Sectional Meetings at 74 Grosvenor Street.
- 7 p.m. for 7.30 p.m. : Banquet at Hotel Cecil.
- The British School of Archæology in Egypt exhibits Antiquities from Qua, Upper Egypt, 2nd-28th July, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. at University College, Gower Street.

Programme of the Sections

A. FAR EASTERN SECTION. (Chairman : L. C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.)

Tuesday, 17th July.—3.30: Address of Welcome to Delegates and Members. 4: "An Early Malay Inscription from Trengganu," by H. S. Paterson. 4.30: Tea.

Wednesday, 18th July.—10.30: "On the reliability of the Tang and Sung Catalogues of ancient paintings," by Professor Paul Pelliot. 12: "A Royal Era in Ancient Khotan," by Professor Sten Konow. 2.30: Visit to School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, to see the Chinese Library.

Thursday 19th July.—10: "On a newly discovered Early Chou inscribed Bronze," by L. C. Hopkins. 11.30: "The Lament of the Lady Ch'in; an unpublished manuscript from Tun-huang," by Dr. Lionel Giles. 12.30: "The Lotus Scripture," by Professor W. E. Soothill. 3: Upon the kind invitation of Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos the Section proceeds to No. 7 Chelsea Embankment to inspect his collection.

Friday, 20th July.—10.30: "Some Aspects of Siamese Speech and Writing," by Professor Cornelius P. Bradley. 12: "Family Life and the Social Fabric in China," by Mr. C. H. Chu, Chargé d'Affaires of China.

B. SEMITIC, SUMERIAN, HITTITE, AND EGYPTIAN SECTION. (Chairman: S. LANGDON, M.A., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford.)

Tuesday, 17th July.—3.30: Address of welcome to Delegates and Members by the Chairman. 3.40: A paper by Professor Breasted. 4.30: Tea. 5: Lantern Lecture by Dr. H. R. Hall: "The British Museum Excavations at Ur, El-'Obeid, and Shahrein: Further Discoveries."

Wednesday, 18th July.—10-10.25: "La Transcription des Signes Cunéiformes," by F. Thureau-Dangin, Membre de l'Institut de France. 10.25-10.45: "A New Contract for the Sale of a Priesthood in the Reign of Shamash-shum-ukin," by G. R. Driver. 10.45-11.20: "Migrations and Religious Influences," by Professor A. T. Clay. 12: See section D.

Thursday, 19th July.—10-10.25: "The Song of Deborah : A New Interpretation," by Professor Samuel Daiches. 10.25-11: "Facts and Theories relating to Hebrew Music," by A. M. Friedlander. Meeting adjourned early in order to enable Delegates to take 12.10 train to Oxford.

Friday, 20th July.—10-10.30: "The Egyptian and Babylonian Ceremonies of the 'Opening of the Month'," by Dr. A. M. Blackman. 10.40-11.20: "Early Babylonian Songs of Praise of *Pap-due-garra*," by Dr. T. G. Pinches. 11.20: "Earliest Indo-Europeans," by Professor D. D. Luckenbill (read by Title). 11.20-12: "The Work of the Oriental Institute of Chicago," by Professor Breasted. 12-12.30: "A New Dynastic Tablet from Sumer and Accad," by Professor S. Langdon.

C. INDIAN SECTION. (Chairman : A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A., Boden Professor of Sanskrit.)

Tuesday, 17th July.—3.30: Address of Welcome. 3.40: Election of Secretary. 4.30: Tea.

Wednesday, 18th July.—10.30: "Four Sanskrit Plays," by Dr. F. W. Thomas. 11: "A Note on the guttural KH sound of the cerebral S," by N. B. Divatia. 11.30: "The development of Indo-Aryan dentals in Sindhi," by Professor R. L. Turner. 12: "Studies in Manichaeism," by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson. 12.30: "On words beginning with F in the Avesta," by R. P. Dewhurst.

Thursday, 19th July.—10.30: "Early Indian Christianity," by P. J. Thoma. 11: "The Custom of Wergeld in Ancient India," by N. C. Chatterjee.

Friday, 20th July.—10: "The Orientation of the Dead in India," by Dr. William Crooke. 10.30: "The Earliest Annals of Mysore," by Lewis Rice. 11: "The Historic Value of the Earliest Account of Shivaji, a Portuguese work composed in 1695," by Justin E. Abbott. 11.30: "Indian Punch-marked Coins," Lantern Slides, by E. H. Walsh. 12: "The Story of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Daśaratha-

Jātaka," by N. B. Utgikar. 12.30: "Application of Canons of Textual and Higher Criticism to Kālidāsa's Śakuntala," by Professor S. K. Belvalkar.

D. ISLAMIC SECTION. (Chairman: D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., F.B.A., D.Litt., Professor of Arabic.)

Tuesday, 17th July.—3.30: Welcome by Chairman and Professor E. G. Browne. 4.30: Tea.

Wednesday, 18th July.—10: "The Table-talk of Jalalu 'ddin Rumi," by Dr. Nicholson. 10.45: "A Manual of Sufism," by A. H. Harley. 11.30: "Fadlu'llah Amin's History of the Aq-Qoyúnlu Dynasty of which the unique copy belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale (A.F.P. No. 101)," by Professor Valentin Minorsky. 12: "Archæological Researches at the Citadel of Cairo," Lantern Slides, by Captain Creswell.

Thursday, 19th July.—10.45: "The Beginnings of Arabic Lexicography," by F. Krenkow.

Friday, 20th July.—10: "Some Debates between Christian and Muslim Doctors," by the Rev. Professor Guillaume. 10.45: "A new Interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree of 1579," by F. W. Buckler. 12.15: "The Prosody of Arabic and Persian," by R. P. Dewhurst.

FAR EASTERN SECTION

On a Newly Discovered Early Chou Inscribed Bronze

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE I)

THE large Chinese Bronze (Plate I) which the kindness of its owner, Mr. George Eumorfopoulos, has enabled the members of our Section to inspect and examine at our leisure, is a specimen in more than one respect of exceptional importance. And being a quite recent acquisition, and not derived from any other European, American, or Japanese collection, it has been judged a very appropriate occasion to introduce it to the notice, and, I will add, to the critical scrutiny, of the sinologic world here represented.

Moreover, upon the inner base it bears an inscription in archaic characters of 67 or 68 words in large and particularly clear script. The substance of this is of such a nature that, *if genuine*, this Bronze must be an independent document of early Chinese history of unique value and interest. It is the object of the present paper to put forward the arguments which go to show that this vessel *is genuine*, that it is of very early Chou Dynasty date, and is not a forgery of Sung or later fabrication.

But before doing this, it will be best to hear an authoritative description of the Bronze itself, a *tui*, or bowl, for holding millet grain, as recorded by Mr. R. L. Hobson, the Keeper of Ceramics and Ethnography, of the British Museum.

Mr. Hobson thus describes it:—

“The opportunity of studying a genuine Chinese bronze of the ancient dynasties does not often occur in Europe. There are plenty of soi-disant Chou pieces to be seen; but none of our public institutions exhibits at the present moment a good example of the genuine thing, though there will shortly be one on exhibition at the British Museum. It

is evident then that it is well worth while to examine closely the features of Mr. Eumorfopoulos' Vase, especially as it is a piece which can be dated in the early part of the Chou dynasty.

"The general form of the vessel can be seen in illustrated Chinese books of bronzes under the heading of *tui*; but it would be difficult to find an example with more than two handles. The four-handled bowl is a type which suggests the Old English loving-cup rather than any Chinese Vessel, but the actual shape of the four handles of this *tui*, issuing as they do from monster heads, is purely Chinese.

"The material of which the vessel is made is a dark-coloured bronze of fine quality, and it was doubtless cast by the *cire perdue* process. This means that the object was first modelled in wax over a hard core, and the model encased in fire-clay or some such refractory material; the molten bronze was then poured on to the wax which melted and ran away through a hole beneath, leaving its place to be filled by the model. When all was cool, the core and casing were removed, and the exact form of the wax model appeared in bronze. The finishing touches could then be added with the graving tool.

"The ornament which appears on the exterior of the *tui* is not easy to describe, the original motives being obscured by conventionalization and overlaid with formal patterns. It would seem that ornament on vessels of this period had to be of a hieratic character, and that naturalistic designs were scarcely admitted. There is, however, on each side of the *tui* a definite design embossed and standing out from the background which is finely diapered with spiral fret patterns, and this embossed design has a general resemblance to an elephant. The body, trunk, eye, and ear are readily distinguished, though the outline is obscured by a number of excrescences which may represent the flame-like attributes so often seen on sacred creatures in Chinese designs.

"This elephant theory, which I venture to submit, will

not commend itself to you so readily as it might, because the photographs show the design from the rear end, the head and trunk disappearing in the curve of the vessel. Above the elephant's head are two round bosses with lines resembling those of the *yin yang*, the well-known symbol of the powers of Nature. Round the foot is a band of conventional dragon pattern in low relief in a ground of spiral frets; under each handle is a cicada design: and on the handles themselves are engraved flame or cloud scrolls.

"Long burial has powerfully affected the surface of this bronze, which has acquired a turquoise green patina with passages of strong malachite green. The upper parts are encrusted and corroded by a more advanced decay, in which large blister-like nodules have formed, and in some cases broken away, leaving deep pits. The monster designs on the upper part of the handles have suffered considerably by this incrustation; but fortunately the embossed ornaments on the sides are not on the whole seriously impaired.

	in.
Height	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Diameter across the handles . .	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
Diameter across mouth	10 $\frac{1}{2}$."
* *	*

Passing now to the intaglio inscription, we observe that it is very clearly formed, no single character being so blurred or worn as to be illegible. The formation of the component characters is archaic, but beyond this I would not venture to go, for I disbelieve the ability of any living scholar, Chinese or other, to distinguish between the writing of the latter part of the Shang dynasty and that of the early half of the Chou. I have fortunately been successful in deciphering all but two of the sixty-seven characters, the 11th and 21st, neither of which appears to be met with elsewhere.

And next, what is the general nature of the record inscribed upon the vessel before us?

Although this does not conform closely to the structural

disposition usual in documents of the kind, its general purport is of kindred nature, that is to say, it professes to be a Royal Decree or Brevet issued in respect of services rendered, and now acknowledged by the privilege of casting a Bronze Vessel for use in the ancestral worship of the grantee, which vessel should bear the indestructible record of this Royal Brevet.

The text is far shorter than those on many Chou vessels bearing Brevets of analogous nature, which usually go into more details as to the entrance of the Sovereign into the Audience Hall, the approach of the personage about to be honoured, the recital by the former of the services rendered, and the particular mention of the Royal gifts bestowed. None of these details are related here. But I submit these omissions by no means militate against the authenticity of the text, but rather accord with the succinct brevity of these proto-historic times.

Who, again, are the personages that figure in the Decree? They are four in number. First, we have the King-Wang, the Sovereign of the Chou Dynasty, who, there is strong reason to conclude, though, of course, he is not actually named, must have been Ch'êng Wang, the second of the line, reigning from 1115 to 1078 B.C. Next is named the *nei shih*, or Secretary of the Interior, whose duty it was on such occasions not only to be in attendance, but to record (and perhaps to prepare) the wording of the honorific Brevet pronounced by his Royal Master in the presence of the grantee. Thirdly, we meet with a certain Marquis of Hsing, whose personal name appears to be specified by the eleventh character of the inscription, which, however, though its component parts are quite legible and decipherable, cannot itself be deciphered. The territory of Hsing seems to have occupied the region round about the modern Shun Tê Fu, in the Province of Chihli, and its name is preserved in Hsing T'ai Hsien, identical with the former city. We shall see directly why a Marquis of Hsing takes part in this ceremonial function.

Lastly, and historically the most outstanding figure of the four, is Chou Kung, the Duke of Chou, by name Tan, by birth the fourth son of Wên Wang, the "Statesman King" as he was canonized, and the younger brother of Wu Wang, the "Warrior King", and first ruling Dynastic Sovereign of the Chou line, and finally by Royal creation the grantee of the title of Prince of Lu. And it is in consequence of his territorial connexion with the State of Lu, and still more because of the immense benefits he rendered to it, that the Duke of Chou receives in this inscription the very striking designation of "Lu T'ien-tzũ" or "the Lu Son of Heaven". This expression, so far as I can ascertain, is unique in Chinese literature. At least, the *P'ei Wên Yün Fu* knows it not, nor is it contained in Kanghsi's Dictionary, nor in the *Tz'ũ Yuan*, nor mentioned in the Index of Chavannes *Mémoires historiques* of Ssü-ma Ch'ien. However, it occurs in these terms once in this document, and once in a slightly varying but even stranger form, as *chên ch'ên T'ien tzũ*, which I suppose to mean "Our Ministerial Son of Heaven".

And at this point we come to what seems in my judgment to be the strongest argument in favour of the genuineness of the inscription as an early Chou composition. For is it probable, is it even credible, that a forger should deliberately invent and insert such unique, such gratuitous, such challenging expressions as *Lu T'ien-tzũ*, "the Lu Son of Heaven," and *Chên ch'ên T'ien tzũ*, "Our Minister, the Son of Heaven"? It seems to me impossible, seeing that the forger's aim must always be to avoid all anomalous or abnormal phrases likely to expose him to the searching criticism and scepticism of the scholar and expert.

Unless, therefore, some extant precedent for the words *Lu T'ien-tzũ* can be discovered in Chinese literature, I should almost be prepared to stand upon this expression alone as demonstrating the authenticity of this text.

Returning now to the personages mentioned in the inscription, why is the Marquis of Hsing introduced as one of them?

The reason, no doubt, is attributable to the fact that these Noble fief-holders were descendants of this same Duke of Chou, the first holder of the appanage having been the fifth son of the Duke, and if the Wang of this inscription is Ch'êng Wang, the Marquis and the King would be uncle and nephew. But here we encounter a difficulty. Why should the fifth son (or his descendant) be concerned in these ceremonial honours, and not the eldest, the second, or the third, or one of their descendants? The passing over of Pê Ch'in, the Duke's eldest son, and himself the Duke of Lu, is the more striking because of the special privileges accorded to the state of Lu. Thus we read in Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, vol. iv, p. 100 :—

“Alors le roi Tch'eng ordonna que (les princes) de Lou auraient le droit de faire le sacrifice dans la banlieue (Kiao) et de sacrifice au roi *Wen*. Si (les princes de) Lou eurent les rites et la musique du Fils du Ciel, ce fut en récompense de la vertu du Duc de Tcheou.”

But if this ignoring of the eldest son of the Duke of Chou seems surprising, on the other hand, we know that distinguished services of some kind had been rendered by a Marquis of Hsing. This fact is established by the inscriptions of more than one Bronze vessel illustrated in the Imperial collections recorded in the *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien*, a Guide to one of these collections. There are in fact three vessels there illustrated and described, with inscriptions in honour of the Hsing Hou or Marquis of Hsing, and it is a fair surmise that all these, as well as the present Bronze, refer to one and the same personage. The Editors of the *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien* mention in the accompanying text that the Marquis in question was probably the first, whose name was, they say, Ching Yuan, and that the then reigning Sovereign was probably King Ch'êng. Let us note in passing, however, that this name Ching Yuan is not to be reconciled with the undeciphered single character preceding the words Hsing Hou or Marquis of Hsing, in the second column of our inscription.

On the whole, then, it seems reasonable to regard this Bronze with its inscription as an original historical document of high value. It purports, indeed, to record services to the Chou Dynasty rendered by a Marquis of Hsing, commemorated by the grant of the customary metal for casting, and the issue of a declaratory Brevet.

But while thus immediately decorating, so to speak, the vassal Marquis, the King appears to aim his gratitude and rewards by a kind of honorific ricochet, at the Marquis's father (or perhaps grandfather), the greater and more potent Prince, the Duke of Chou. The latter, you will observe, is so styled at the end of the last column, but in the fourth, is designated as the "Lu Son of Heaven", an expression surely unique of its kind, and presumably adopted from the popular and contemporary speech.

Pious custom, as we know, required the personage thus honoured by his Sovereign to devote this Bronze or Copper to the casting of some form of sacral vessel for use in the services of the ancestral Temple, and we must suppose the inscription of the Royal Brevet, perpetuated on the surface of this vessel, to be the formal announcement to the ancestral Spirits, of deeds well done by their devout offspring, and to justify the simultaneous and consequential prayer for material blessings on the latter and his descendants, as a moral *quid pro quo* for the retrospective distinction.

Passing now to the literary style and texture of the document, we find it marked by simplicity and brevity, qualities indeed that we might expect to find in an early Chou composition. Much is absent from this text that is elaborated in the more ornate declarations of presumably later date in the same Dynasty. And to this concentration are due certain difficulties of translation which it would be foolish to ignore. Thus, it is not explicitly stated that the Marquis of Hsing was actually present on this occasion, though the entry and place occupied by the personage honoured is in such cases nearly always expressed. Nor does the old word

ni, that is You, occur here, as is the general rule. The succession of the sentences is abrupt, and proceeds with a certain archaic bluntness. A good many Notes in fact ought to be added to the English rendering should this Paper ever be published, but this is not the occasion to increase its length. I should like, however, to call attention to the last column but one, where, to my mind, the most serious difficulty and obscurity lies. What, for example, is the exact sense of the first two characters, strictly *sui shao*, but equivalent to the modern *chui chao*, which I have rendered though imperfectly, "to allow to lapse"? Further, what was "our beneficent Covenant", and was it, in fact, made "with our Minister the Son of Heaven"? And I draw your special attention to these last four characters as particularly important, indeed crucial, in fixing the date of this inscription. For if "Our Minister the Son of Heaven" is meant to indicate the Duke of Chou, who, as we see by the last column, must have been already dead, there was only one Sovereign of the Dynasty who could have thus referred to him, and that was King Ch'êng, to whom the Duke had been a loyal Minister, a sagacious mentor, and a military and civilian Master-mind. He passed away in King Ch'êng's 21st year, 1105 B.C., and it would seem to follow that the Royal Brevet under discussion must have issued between that year and the last year of King Ch'êng's reign, viz. 1078 B.C.

Having thus briefly glanced at the character of the style of this document, I may devote a few sentences to the style of the characters themselves. These are, it is true, archaic, but they are boldly formed, correct by the standard of those days, and without contractions or slipshod execution. They are, in fact, worthy of their dignified theme. But they merit and demand a good many more notes than I dare trouble you with to-day. One only, the fourth character in the third column, is unique; it will be found in no Chinese collection, not even in collections of undeciphered forms. My translation

of it, therefore, as meaning "cultivated lands", is a more or less plausible guess that it is an early form of *chung*, seed or to sow. And I may point out that if a horizontal line be added to the foot, we should then have the character *chung*, heavy, the so-called Phonetic of the character *chung*, seed.

The fourth character in the sixth column, which is *chui*, to pursue, should be noticed, because it contains on the right, the element *k'ou*, mouth, which appears in no other extant example of this character *chui*, though the latter is very frequent in archaic inscriptions. Here, again, I ask is it likely a forger would have been so rash as to add this apparently needless element?

The first character of the seventh column is *sui*, no longer found alone, but an ancient homophone of the later and more elaborate form *chui*, to fall or let fall.

The fifth character in the same column is a rare variant of *mêng*, a covenant, the outer and main part being *min*, dishes, the 108th Radical. The small contained element may perhaps be ideographic, perhaps phonetic.

I have reserved for the last, the only ground I can detect for challenging the authentic character of this Bronze vessel and its inscription. The hostile critic will point out that this remarkable and well-preserved relic is nowhere recorded or referred to in the Chinese literature of the subject. It is an argument that can neither be ignored nor minimized. It is the same argument that the late Edouard Chavannes levelled against the Bushell Bowl with deadly effect. But its force in the present case depends on the assumption that there are no genuine pieces extant that have not been illustrated or described in the appropriate Chinese literature. But this is to ignore certain notorious facts concerning the opening and spoliation of hundreds of ancient graves and tumuli which the construction of railways and other public works in China has brought about in recent years. And I claim that this Bronze before us must have been lately discovered in the course of some such excavations. In which Province, and

in what year, this and another splendid but uninscribed Bowl came to light, it has proved impossible to ascertain. All I am able to announce is that the present owner of this one acquired it during the year 1922 from a well-known Chinese dealer in London, and there for the time investigation of its provenance must halt.

THE LU T' IEN-TZŪ BRONZE

Transcription into Modern Chinese

用	墜	于	福	稽	品	曰	惟
冊	昭	有	克	首	州	荅	三
王	脫	周	奔	魯	人	邢	月
命	福	追	走	天	秉	侯	王
作	盟	考	上	子	人	服	命
周	脫	對	帝	寇	郭	賜	艾
公	臣	不	無	人	人	臣	罽
彝	天	敢	終	順	拜	三	內
	子		命				史

English Translation of above

It was the third month when the King gave command to Ai Ta, the Secretary of the Interior, and said, "[?], Marquis of Hsing, in grateful recognition of services rendered, We confer on our subject the three kinds [of metal]. The people of the territory, the people of the cultivated lands, and the people of the cities made obeisance to the Son of Heaven of Lu. Brigands, yielding to his beneficent power, hastened away and are gone. God Above for ever orders the holders of the Empire of Chou to pay honour to their departed Sire. And We, on our part, shall not venture to allow to lapse our beneficent Covenant with our Minister the Son of Heaven. Wherefore is recorded our Royal command to make a sacrificial vessel to the Duke of Chou."

Some Features of the Siamese Speech and Writing

BY PROFESSOR CORNELIUS BRADLEY

THE Siamese is the southernmost outlier of the great family of the Chinese dialects. Its kinship with them is shown, first, by its monosyllabic vocabulary¹; and second, by the peculiar use it makes of tonal inflections of the voice, not as a part of its rhetorical apparatus, but as essential elements of individual words, quite as indispensable for their right enunciation and interpretation as are the consonants and vowels that make up their framework. Their kinship is further shown by a singular feature of the content and use of words in both—a quality which is often called their abstractness. To me, however, that term seems wholly inappropriate, for it apparently denies what is one of the most conspicuous features of both languages, namely, their concreteness. The fact apparently is this: In both languages the words are symbols of concepts *per se*, being wholly devoid of inflectional apparatus to express and define their relations with other words in the sentence. They are, therefore, free to function in any syntactical relation not incompatible with their essential meaning. The very same thing has to a notable degree become not only possible but even common in modern English, as a result of the disappearance of the inflectional and derivational apparatus that formerly prevented nouns from taking on the functions of verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, and *vice versa*.

This feature of the Siamese language—and I imagine the

¹ The Siamese is by no means absolutely monosyllabic. In it, as in other languages, words that are frequently associated together in speech tend to combine, forming first a recurrent phrase, then a quasi-compound, then a definite compound. The heavy stress that falls on the distinctive member presently obscures the other member, so that though it still forms a syllable, it is no longer recognizable as ever having been a separate word. Such disyllabic compounds are a common feature of the Siamese vocabulary.

same to be true of the Chinese—is directly associated with its monosyllabic vocabulary. A monosyllabic language cannot have either inflection or derivation without ceasing to be monosyllabic; nor can it have distinguishable Parts of Speech other than Aristotle's two—Subject and Predicate; nor can it maintain any sharp distinction between Phrase, Clause, and Sentence. In English, for example, relative clauses are regularly introduced by words definitely specialized for the purpose of marking the relative function. But in Siamese the word equivalent to our relative *who* is a word which elsewhere means *person*; the word equivalent to our relative *that*, in other connexions means *place* or *position*; the word for *when* means *time* or *occasion*; and so on. Statements so introduced have the sort of detachment that belongs to an “aside” or a parenthetical remark. But the true relative clause is inwoven into the very texture of the sentence.

In speech of this sort all sentences are necessarily short; for proximity—or one might rather say juxtaposition—is the only means of indicating syntactical relations between words. Let me illustrate this point by turning a simple statement in English into the Siamese idiom, retaining, however, the English words. Let the sentence be: *The old man that you saw yesterday was my father.* This must first be stripped of all words unnecessary from the Siamese point of view, namely: the article *the*, the relative *that*; perhaps also the pronoun *you* and the copula *was*, unless these are emphatic. The inflected words *saw* and *my* are reduced to their type-forms *see* and *me*. The generalized word *old*, ambiguous in meaning and of unlimited dimension, must be replaced by the specific *aged*; and in the phrases *old man* and *my father*, the logical order, which our English inverts, must be restored. The Siamese statement would then read: *Man aged see yesterday father me.* What could be simpler? Its syntax is in fact that of the sign-language of deaf mutes the world over.

An interesting feature of this syntax is the frequent use of a series of words that in our thought figure as verbs, to represent for example what appears to us as a single comprehensive action, such as we would represent by a single comprehensive verb, with a modifier if necessary. In Siamese, however, the verbs, as we call them, are all specific like the rest of the vocabulary. It therefore becomes necessary to use a separate word for each phase of the action, including also the speaker's relation to it in the matter of position. Thus where we say *Walk in*, the Siamese must choose between *Walk enter come*, and *Walk enter go* according as the speaker's position is inside or outside the door. The idiom of the "pidgin" English of all that eastern coast parallels the Siamese exactly. The ship-captain says to his boy: *Go catchee fetchee makee look see*, and the boy brings him the spy-glass. The Chinese cook in a San Francisco restaurant thus explains his method of dealing with eggs of an uncertain quality: *Can fly, fly. No can fly, scramble*. Every word in these examples save only the negative *no*, is for us a verb.

Turning now to the features of difference between these two languages, the most important is, no doubt, the fundamental difference between their modes of writing. Siamese writing is an attempt, clumsy enough but surprisingly successful, to represent the *sound* of the spoken word. Chinese writing, as I understand, aims by various suggestion, often fanciful and far-fetched, to hint at the *meaning* of the written symbol. If the reader succeeds in guessing that, he is welcome to pronounce it in any manner that pleases him. One is at a loss to know whether we are to regard this as a revival—with a difference—of the Pentecostal gift of tongues, whereby every man may read in his own speech whatever is written; or whether it be not rather a continuation of the curse of Babel to further divide men. Whatever it is, it is apparently the only survivor among civilized people of the ideographic and symbolic picture-writing which took the place of the rude scrawls of primitive man. It has been an anachronism

in the world ever since the day when the canny Semite bethought him that the rude sketch of Aleph, the ox, might better be used to represent the initial sound of Aleph's name, and so increase its usefulness a thousandfold.

The question of the source whence the Siamese derived the art of writing was still in debate during the first decade of this century. The internal evidence—the number of its letters together with their remarkable classification and arrangement—made it certain that its ultimate source was in India. But because Buddhism had long been the established religion of Farther India, it was usually assumed that the art of writing came to Siam as it came earlier to Burma, the gift of Buddhist missionaries from Ceylon; and that its proximate source was the Pali, and not the Sanskrit.

During the first decade of this century the researches of French archæologists in their newly acquired territory in Anam and Cambodia prompted me to look into the origin and development of alphabetic writing in Siam. The earliest known monument of that writing is a certain inscription on stone discovered some ninety years ago among the ruins of Sukhōthai, the ancient capital of Lower Siam. In it the author, Prince Rām Khamhæng, claims to be the one who brought the art of writing into use in Siam. He says: "Heretofore there were none of these letters for writing Siamese speech. In 1205, year of the Goat (A.D. 1283-4), Prince Rām Khamhæng earnestly desired and longed for them, and put these Siamese letters into use. So now we have them because that Prince used them."

The Prince seems careful not to say that he invented or adapted them. That must have been the work of a gifted and trained scholar; for this seems to be the first recorded attempt to incorporate in the spelling of words the tonal system of a language like that of the Siamese. Indeed, from what the Prince says elsewhere in this inscription, we can pretty safely guess that the one who accomplished

this task was none other than the honoured and beloved scholar from Ligor whom the Prince "made Sangharaja, who knew the Tripitaka from beginning to end, learned above all others in the realm". Whoever he was, his scheme remains in use to-day practically unchanged.¹

But where did he get these characters? A study of the principal types of Indian alphabets from Asoka's time down to that of Rām Khamhæng made it clear that the Sukhōthai letters could not have been derived from any of them. A study, then, of Sanskrit inscriptions from Champa and Cambodia, ranging from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries, showed that the earlier alphabets of this series closely resembled the contemporary alphabets from India; while the later ones departed more and more from the forms then current in India, and approximated more and more toward the Sukhōthai type; until in the very latest inscription from Angkor Wat—without date, but from internal evidence judged to be of the thirteenth century—there was found an alphabet practically identical with that of the Sukhōthai inscription. Indeed, the very differences between four or five of the Sukhōthai letters and the corresponding ones from Angkor Wat serve to confirm the identity of their source. For they are seen to be characters that were purposely altered from the Cambodian originals to avoid confusion with other letters which they had come to resemble too closely.²

During the brief period of the supremacy of the Sukhōthai line of princes, Rām Khamhæng's letters underwent such considerable change toward their present forms that there can be no doubt that the modern Siamese writing is directly descended from them, even though there remains a gap of some two hundred years from which so far no record whatever has been secured.³

¹ Cf. *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. v, pt. ix, 1909.

² Cf. *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for 1912.

³ As the use of Rām Khamhæng's letters spread northward toward the sources of the Menam River, there was developed a beautiful monumental

THE ALPHABET

The Siamese alphabet, like its ancestors the Semitic and the Indian alphabets, includes consonants only. Vowels were an afterthought in all alphabetic writing in Asia. The consonant-sounds distinguished in Siamese speech are twenty-two, as shown in Table I below, listed there by orders and classes as in the Sanskrit from which they are derived. The Siamese has added but one new sound to the Sanskrit list, namely the spirant *f*. On the other hand, thirteen of the Sanskrit consonant-sounds are unknown in Siamese speech. The letters for these sounds are still retained in the Siamese alphabet, for use in writing loan-words from the Sanskrit and the Pali; but in pronunciation each one of them is identified with one or another of the related Siamese consonants.

TABLE I. The Consonant-sounds in Siamese Speech.

Gutturals	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>ng</i>	Semivowels	.	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>
Palatals	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>		Sibilant	.	.	<i>s</i>		
Linguals	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	Breathing	.	<i>h</i>			
Labials	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	Glottal Stop	.	<i>ʋ</i>	and :		

The two strange characters at the bottom of the list call for some explanation. The first is the old Semitic pictograph of Aleph, the ox—the same which, inverted, heads all our European alphabets as a vowel. But throughout Southern Asia it still retains its original character as a true consonant sound—a voiceless stop like initial *p*, *t*, and *k*. Like these it represents the click of sudden release of a closure in the air-passage.¹ The other is the Sanskrit *visarga*, and it script which continued in use in the northern monasteries almost down to our times. During the period of Burmese ascendancy in that region the round Burmese characters came into use for secular purposes. These are now being displaced by the standard Siamese characters throughout the area under Siamese control.

¹ Throughout this paper I shall use this character and the name *Aleph* to designate this unfamiliar consonant-sound, hoping thereby to dissociate it entirely from the vowel *a* with which in most of our minds it is continually confused.

represents the corresponding snap of closure at the same point. The two, therefore, together, form one complete consonant with two distinct phases, initial, and final; and rightly the two should have been listed together under one symbol as one consonant, just as was done with *p*, *t*, and *k*. The operation of the two may be described as follows: For the *Aleph* phase contact takes place in the glottis itself, where the vocal chords are brought together and held tense and silent for an instant, until the accumulating air-pressure springs them suddenly apart, throwing them into immediate and strong vibration. The following vowel-note is thus launched forth with uncommon power and brilliance. Singers call this action "attack", and use it with fine effect. It is also frequently heard in the Cockney dialect, where it takes the place of an *h* that has been dropped. The visarga phase is the reverse of the *Aleph*. While the chords are in full vibration sounding a vowel-note, they are abruptly silenced by swinging them suddenly together, thus completely closing the air-passage. Visarga is, therefore, a guillotine-stop, which with startling effectiveness beheads what would otherwise have been a final vowel. In Siamese the very same thing happens also to any vowel before final *p*, *t*, and *k*; though, of course, the contact then takes place in other parts of the vocal apparatus, where it can be easily observed. In English these consonants are audibly exploded before we pass on to the next word; but in Siamese there is no audible escape of breath after the closure. The Siamese says *yěp'*, *yăi'*, and *yîk'*, precisely as the American street arab says *yep'* for *yes*. In Siamese, then, these three consonants are also of the guillotine sort as well as *visarga*.

To facilitate reference and comparison there is shown in Table II the Sanskrit alphabet, arranged in orders and classes according to the ancient scheme, a marvel of accurate analysis and grouping.

TABLE II. The Sanskrit Alphabet

Gutturals	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ng</i>
Palatals	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>ñ</i>
Cerebrals	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>
Linguals	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>
Labials	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>m</i>
Semi-vowels . . .	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>	
Sibilants	<i>ç</i>	<i>ş</i>	<i>s</i>		
Breathings . . .	<i>h</i>				

In Table III is shown the consonantal alphabet of present Siamese, romanized in general according to the scheme in use among European students of Siamese. I have, however, used italics for the thirteen letters not used in writing native Siamese words, but needed for transliterating Sanskrit and Pali. Dotted lines connecting the two letters of six pairs in the Table indicate that the right-hand one is a new letter derived by some slight variation from its neighbour on the left. A seventh derivative—the second *h*—has not been derived from the *h* beside it, but from *v* placed in a different column, as determined by their tonal difference—a matter to be taken up later when we reach the subject of the Tones.

TABLE III. The Siamese Consonant Letters

Middle	High	Low		
<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>ng</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>ch</i> . . . <i>s</i> ²	<i>ch</i>	<i>ñ</i>
<i>d</i> . . . <i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>d</i> . . . <i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>b</i> . . . <i>p</i>	<i>ph</i> . . . <i>f</i> ¹	<i>ph</i> . . . <i>f</i> ²	<i>ph</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>v</i> : <i>ç</i> <i>ş</i> <i>s</i> ¹ <i>h</i> ¹	<i>h</i> ² <i>y</i> <i>r</i> <i>l</i> <i>w</i>			

THE VOWELS

In Siamese there are eighteen vowels as against thirteen in Sanskrit. Our English language has five vowel letters; but each of these does duty for from two to five different vowel-sounds, and these shade off into each other by such uncertain gradations that it is almost impossible to tell just

how many vowel-sounds we have. The Siamese vowels fall into three series as shown in Table IV, all diverging from a common centre in the vowel \bar{a} , the most open one of them all. In each series the progress is steadily from open to close, but along different lines of closure, until at the end of each a point is reached beyond which further approximation results in closure on a consonant-sound. In each series the vowels are grouped in pairs of short and long, the short being also the more open in every pair except the first, where long \bar{a} , being the most open of all, must stand first. In their several series these vowels are accurately spaced like the semi-tones of the musical scale, and each is uttered without slurring or vanish of any sort. Indeed, they are so numerous and so accurately spaced that it is difficult to see how any one of them could perceptibly change in pitch without involving the whole in uncertainty and confusion such as perplexes our own vowel system. Nothing of that sort, however, seems to have happened in the six centuries since this scheme was put in operation.

THE SIMPLE VOWELS ¹

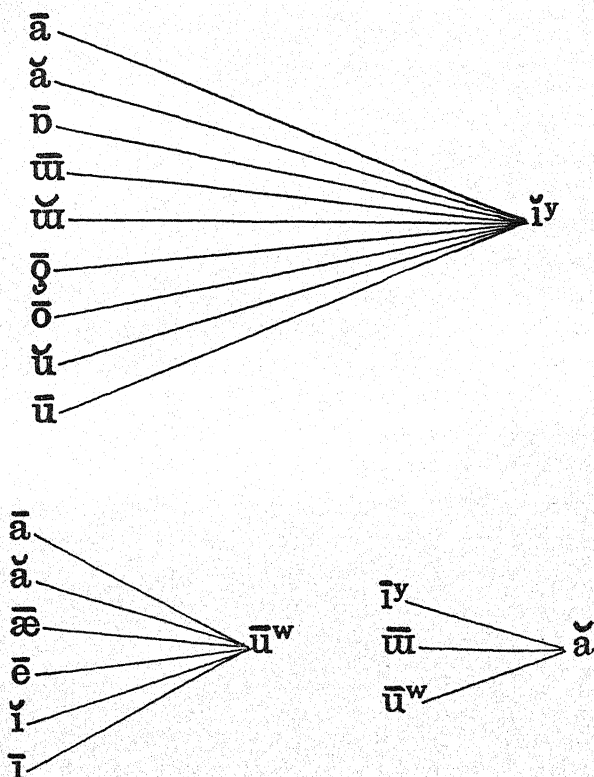
Most of these vowels are assumed by English-speaking people who encounter them to be identical with the corresponding vowels in English. But a trained ear soon discovers that few of them are exactly like ours. Thus the Siamese

¹ The symbols I have used for these vowel-sounds is that of the Oxford Dictionary, except that for the last two vowels of the middle series—which have no recognized place in English—I have adopted a symbol which I find in use among English orientalists, namely a turned lower-case *m*. The vowel-sound it represents is that heard in the exclamation “*Ugh*”, expressive of mingled terror and disgust. It should be added that in Siamese the unwritten short vowel is regularly medial short *o*, as in French *chaud*. Sometimes, however, it is the atonic half-vowel *a*, especially in the disyllabic quasi-compounds already mentioned, particularly after initial aspirates or sibilants as in *kh'nom*, *s'nuk*, etc. Furthermore, the vowel used in pronouncing the names of all the consonant letters is \bar{o} —the long \bar{a} of fall. Its written symbol is our friend *Aleph*, who in Siamese lives a double life—a consonant when initial, and a vowel when medial or final. Sometimes he plays both rôles in the same syllable—e.g. in $\forall \forall n$ pronounced $\bar{o}n$ —oddly reminding us of his European metamorphosis into *a*.

was the careful filling of the whole vowel-area with vowels accurately spaced—far enough apart to insure distinction between them, and near enough together so that no vacant spaces should be left. And the diphthongs, which we take up next, show an equally clear-cut and systematic arrangement.

THE DIPHTHONGS

TABLE V. The Diphthongs



A diphthong is a vocal glide starting from a definite point in the vocal field, and landing at another point far enough away to ensure effective contrast. It is thus exactly like the *portamento* in vocal music. The Siamese diphthong is no uncertain and indefinite slip by which one vowel shifts

“unbeknownst” into a neighbour’s place. It is rather a bold leap from end to end of either octave, or across the intervening space from one series to the other, as shown in Table V.

There are here eighteen diphthongs, all in perfectly symmetrical arrangement. Not quite all possible combinations are found in this scheme, but all of these are in actual use. The lack of “voice” noted in the consonantal group is more than made good here and in the tonal group. And to the “tones” we are now come.

THE TONES AND THEIR NOTATION IN WRITING

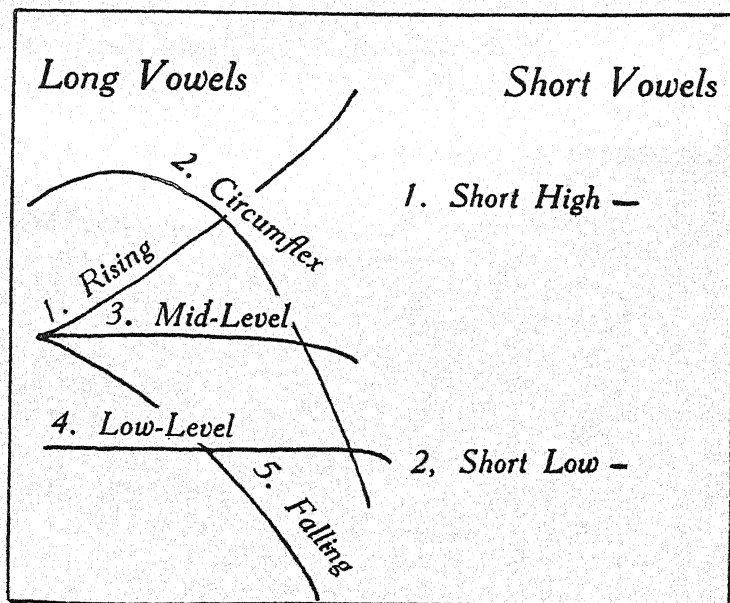
Intonations of the voice accompany all forms of speech. In most languages they constitute a rhetorical annotation to the phrase and sentence, marking the points of emphasis, lighting up the bare words with colour and feeling, and sometimes accompanying the thought with music. Such intonations are of no fixed pattern, nor are they necessary for the right understanding of individual words. In certain languages, however, such as the Chinese and the Siamese, these tonal inflections are of fixed form, and are essential elements of individual words, quite as necessary to the pronunciation and understanding of them as are the vowels and consonants that make up their articulate framework. Thus, for example, the simple syllable *nā*, when pronounced with five different intonations, becomes five different words, namely:—with mid-rising tone, *nā* means *thick*; with circumflex, *~nā* means *aunt*; with mid-level tone, *-nā* means *rice-field*; with low-level tone, *_nā* means *indeed*; and with falling tone, *ˋnā* means *face*.¹ So far as I know, such intonation of individual words is confined to monosyllabic languages, and in their case, as we have seen, resort to it may be necessary to provide a sufficient vocabulary. In Siamese there are five of these tones that may be applied to long vowels, namely,

¹ For the indication of these tones in the text I have used the excellent scheme of Sir George A. Grierson, set forth in his article “On the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages”: cf. *JRAS.*, Oct. 1920.

to the five just given in the illustrative examples above. Of each of the five the general figure or pattern of movement—that which distinguishes it as rising, falling, circumflex, and so on—is fixed, as is also the general relation of each figure to the central register of the individual voice. But the actual dimension of each movement—its height, its depth, and its reach—vary with the mood and the degree of emphasis of each utterance.

In Table VI below the five figures on the left show the general pattern of each of the five tones of long vowels, together with its position in the field of pitch. On the right are the two short tones of vowels syncopated by stop-consonants. Each of these figures is a generalization from a number of figures plotted from instrumental measurements of the pitch of the voice as ascertained from actual records.¹

TABLE VI. The Tones



¹ For the process of measuring and plotting the tones, cf. *Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Univ. of California, vol. ii, No. 5, Oct. 1916.

The most remarkable feature of Siamese writing, I suppose, is the scheme by which it indicates the intonation of most of its words by choice of the letters used in spelling them, so that the tone is incorporated into the very structure of the written word. This is made possible by the fact that many of its consonant-sounds have duplicate letters to represent them in writing. Though consonants are not vocal, and therefore cannot voice the intonations—a thing which is the function of the vowel alone—nevertheless they may be so sorted and used as to indicate the tones of the vowels and diphthongs with which they are associated. This has been so successfully accomplished that the intonation of perhaps two-thirds or more of all native Siamese words is distinctly indicated in their spelling. Two diacritical marks suffice to determine the intonation of the remaining third. Before explaining how this is accomplished, let us note certain things that condition the process.

1. Every word in Siamese speech begins with a consonant. There is in it no such thing as an initial vowel. Every vowel that to an untrained ear seems to be initial, is really introduced both in speech and writing by the consonant *ṽ*. Similarly, every word with a short vowel takes a consonant ending. Now, the only consonant-sounds allowed to stand in final position are the three nasals, *m*, *n*, and *ng*, with the four voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*, and *visarga*. When final, these stops are never exploded, as has already been explained. Other consonant-letters do sometimes appear in the final position, but this occurs regularly only in loan-words from the Sanskrit or Pali, which retain their original spelling. In pronunciation, however, all such final letters are identified with one or other of the consonant-sounds named above.

A second point also needs to be noted :—Each consonant letter is endowed with an inherent tone of its own—a tone which it, being a consonant, cannot of itself voice, and therefore passes on to be voiced for it by its attendant vowel. The vowel will voice it perfectly provided it be a long vowel—

that is, if it has time enough to execute the tonal figure properly; and provided also that the following consonant, if there be one, does not disturb the result by interference of *its* inherent tone. Now, when the Siamese alphabet is learned and recited, the names of all the letters are pronounced by the help of one and the same long vowel, \bar{o} . It receives and voices in succession the tone supposedly inherent in each letter. While learning the alphabet, therefore, the Siamese child learns simultaneously and without analysis these four things: the name of each letter, its precise articulation, its place in the alphabetic sequence, and the particular tone that each letter imposes upon the long open \bar{o} that voices them all. This last item perhaps may seem of no great importance. Barely two tones are involved in it—the mid-level and the high—together with some forty consonant-letters. But note how the field widens when we reflect that every one of these letters will impose its inherent tone alike on any long vowel or any diphthong that follows it in an open syllable. Now, there are nine such vowels and eighteen diphthongs, making in combination with these consonants a total of some eleven hundred possible syllables, the tone of every one of which is determined by what one has learned about the inherent tones of consonants while memorizing the alphabet. The scheme is in fact that of a mental card-catalogue applied to the immense and unsorted mass of words in the language. Each consonant letter heads a list of twenty-seven vocables of similar structure and identical intonation. The Siamese alphabet becomes thus a real syllabary, though not so designated.

We come now to the first listed syllabary. In it are included all the recognized combinations of each of these consonants with each of the simple vowels both long and short. It thus establishes an official vowel-sequence to parallel the consonant-sequence of the alphabet. And as before, the tone resulting from each combination of vowel and consonant is learned along with the other features of

a middle or a high-class letter : e.g. *_sōk*, *_hēt*. The second is the falling tone, and it occurs whenever in like circumstances the initial letter is of the low class : e.g. *rāk*, *yōt*. The two short tones, high and low, also appear in this syllabary, both of course only with *short* vowels—the high tone following low initials, and the low tone following the high initials. Examples are : *ˉrāt* and *ˉyōt* of the one, and *_sāk* and *_hēt* of the other.

The last syllabary supposedly deals with final diphthongs. Of these, as I have stated, I find but eighteen in present Siamese. But here are listed no less than thirty-three. The additions are in part variant spellings of syllables already included elsewhere ; others are syllables with simple vowel-sounds and not diphthongs at all ; and a number are syllables closed by *visarga*. So far as its organization is concerned, this syllabary is confused and unsatisfactory. But it does at least establish a definite and memorizable sequence, which is after all the important thing—a sequence which when once learned enables one in a moment to run down in memory and ascertain the precise spelling, pronunciation, and intonation of any one of the 1,452 monosyllables included in it. The sum total of all syllables included in these lists amounts to nearly seven thousand possible words.¹

At this point the regular study of the syllabaries usually comes to an end—but not the use of them. For there remain to be included within the scope of their application some three thousand vocables more, derived from “conjugating” through all these sequences the various compound initials made up of the consonant-stops *plus l*, *r*, and *w*. Even so we are not yet at the end. There must be reckoned in also the tonal variants to be derived from the use of the diacritical marks yet to be described. A conservative estimate of these additions would be perhaps five thousand

¹ The writer cannot remember where or when he learned these syllabaries ; but he stands ready to repeat on demand any one of the sequences under any designated consonant in any one of the eight lists.

more, bringing the grand total of possible vocables up to some twelve thousand.

The three following rules cover all the cases so far dealt with, namely, those in which no diacritical mark is needed to determine the tone—that is, in about three-fourths of all native Siamese words, and in practically all words of foreign origin that have become fully naturalized.

i. Any initial consonant will give its inherent tone—the tone in which its name is pronounced—to any *final* long vowel or diphthong that follows it; and also to any vowel long or short, or to any diphthong, in a syllable, that ends in either of the nasals *m*, *n*, and *ng*; for these consonants are vocal, and continue the tone of the preceding vowel (cf. *a* and *b* of Classes 1 and 2 in Table VII below).

ii. Any initial letter of either the high or the middle class will give the low-level tone to any *long* vowel or diphthong that follows it in a syllable closed by any one of the consonant-stops; and will give the corresponding short-low to any *short* vowel similarly placed (cf. *ibid.*, *c* of Classes 1 and 2).

iii. Any low initial consonant will give the falling tone to any diphthong or *long* vowel in a syllable closed by a consonant-stop; but will give the short-high tone to any short vowel similarly placed (cf. *ibid.*, Class 3, *c* and *d*).

For visual summation of these principles, and for ready reference, there is given in Table VII a schematic presentation of all the various syllabic types included under the operation of these three rules, together with examples of the resulting tone under each type. In it the letters H, M, and L represent initial letters of the high, middle, and low classes respectively; the macron and the breve that follow these letters represent long and short vowels that follow these initials; N and S represent final nasals and stops. In each word cited here by way of example, the tone resulting from that particular combination of consonants and vowel is indicated by a symbol prefixed to the initial letter of the word according to the scheme of Sir George A. Grierson already mentioned;

namely: ˊ indicates the mid-rising tone; ˋ the mid-falling tone; ˘ the circumflex; - the mid-level; _ the low-level; ˊˋ the short-high; and ˋˊ the short-low. Each of these symbols is a rough approximation to the figure or pattern of movement of the voice as shown in Table VI. The level of its start and finish will roughly indicate its general position in the field of pitch.

TABLE VII. Typical Syllabic Combinations and the Resulting Tones

1. High-class Initials

(a)	$H -$	ˊ <i>khā</i>	ˊ <i>sūu</i>	ˊ <i>phūu</i>
(b)	$H \simeq N$	ˊ <i>hñ</i>	ˊ <i>hūang</i>	ˊ <i>sōng</i>
(c)	$H \simeq S$	- <i>sāk</i>	- <i>sūp</i>	- <i>sāt</i>

2. Middle-class Initials

(a)	$M -$	- <i>kā</i>	- <i>tō</i>	- <i>klūa</i>
(b)	$M \simeq N$	- <i>kōng</i>	- <i>kūan</i>	- <i>bāng</i>
(c)	$M \simeq S$	- <i>pāk</i>	- <i>kō</i>	- <i>dīp</i>

3. Low-class Initials

(a)	$L -$	- <i>lāi</i>	- <i>rēu</i>	- <i>wā</i>
(b)	$L \simeq N$	- <i>thān</i>	- <i>thōng</i>	- <i>wēn</i>
(c)	$L - S$	ˊ <i>rōt</i>	ˊ <i>rāk</i>	ˊ <i>thiāp</i>
(d)	$L \sim S$	ˋ <i>lōt</i>	ˋ <i>rāk</i>	ˋ <i>mēt</i>

THE DIACRITICAL MARKS

We come at length to the diacritical marks, the function of which is to cause certain modifications of the tones imposed by the syllabic scheme, and thus increase its range. The two most important are named *ēk* and *thō* after the Sanskrit numerals *ēka* and *dvā*, i.e. 1 and 2. Indeed, in shape they so nearly resemble these figures of ours that I shall presently use ours to represent theirs in the list below.¹ They are

¹ These names indicate clearly their Indian derivation, but neither in shape nor in name do they resemble the corresponding numerals in use in Siam.

written directly over the vowel which they are intended to modify. *ēk* changes to the low-level both the rising tone of *1a* and *1b* in the syllabic scheme above, and the mid-level tone of *2a* and *2b*; *thō* changes the syllabic tones of these same four groups to the falling tone; but raises to the circumflex the mid-level tones of *3a* and *3b*.¹ The following lists will serve to illustrate their use.

In the following scheme are shown the effects of these two diacritics on syllables of types *a* and *b* from each of the three letter classes of Table VII.

Without Diacritic	Diacritic <i>ēk</i>	Diacritic <i>thō</i>
<i>1a</i> <i>ʼhā</i>	<i>hā</i> ¹	<i>hā</i> ²
<i>1b</i> <i>ʼhūang</i>	<i>hūang</i> ¹	<i>hūang</i> ²
<i>2a</i> <i>-kē</i>	<i>kē</i> ¹	<i>kē</i> ²
<i>2b</i> <i>-kōng</i>	<i>kōng</i> ¹	<i>kōng</i>
<i>3a</i> <i>-rāi</i>	<i>rāi</i> ¹	<i>~rāi</i>
<i>3b</i> <i>-thōng</i>	<i>thōng</i> ¹	<i>~thōng</i>

A glance at Table III will show that the letters of the low class outnumber those of the two other classes together. All the nasals and all the semi-vowels are found in the low class alone, thus destroying the balance of the whole tonal system. To remedy this defect, and to render these low-class letters capable of service in the two higher groups, it was devised that one high-class letter—*h*—and one middle-class letter—*v*—be commissioned to act as ushers, introducing low-class semi-vowels and nasals whenever these are needed, and clothing them for the nonce with all the tonal powers and functions of the usher. The letters chosen were both in themselves unobtrusive and not likely to cause trouble by being mistaken for the real initials of the syllable. Thus was the disparity between the tonal classes effectively removed.

¹ They are not applied to syllables of type *c* because in them the low-level and the falling tones are already represented syllabically; nor in type *d*, because the short vowel does not afford them sufficient scope.

By way of bringing this intricate and tedious dissertation to an end, allow me to recite a short specimen of the thing itself—a Siamese “jaw-breaker” which, for ingenious bewilderment by means of homoiophones, I am sure does not fall behind our “Theophilus the Thistle-sifter”, while in *coloratura* of intonation it certainly leaves that far behind.

MISS SOI'S ADVENTURES AFIELD

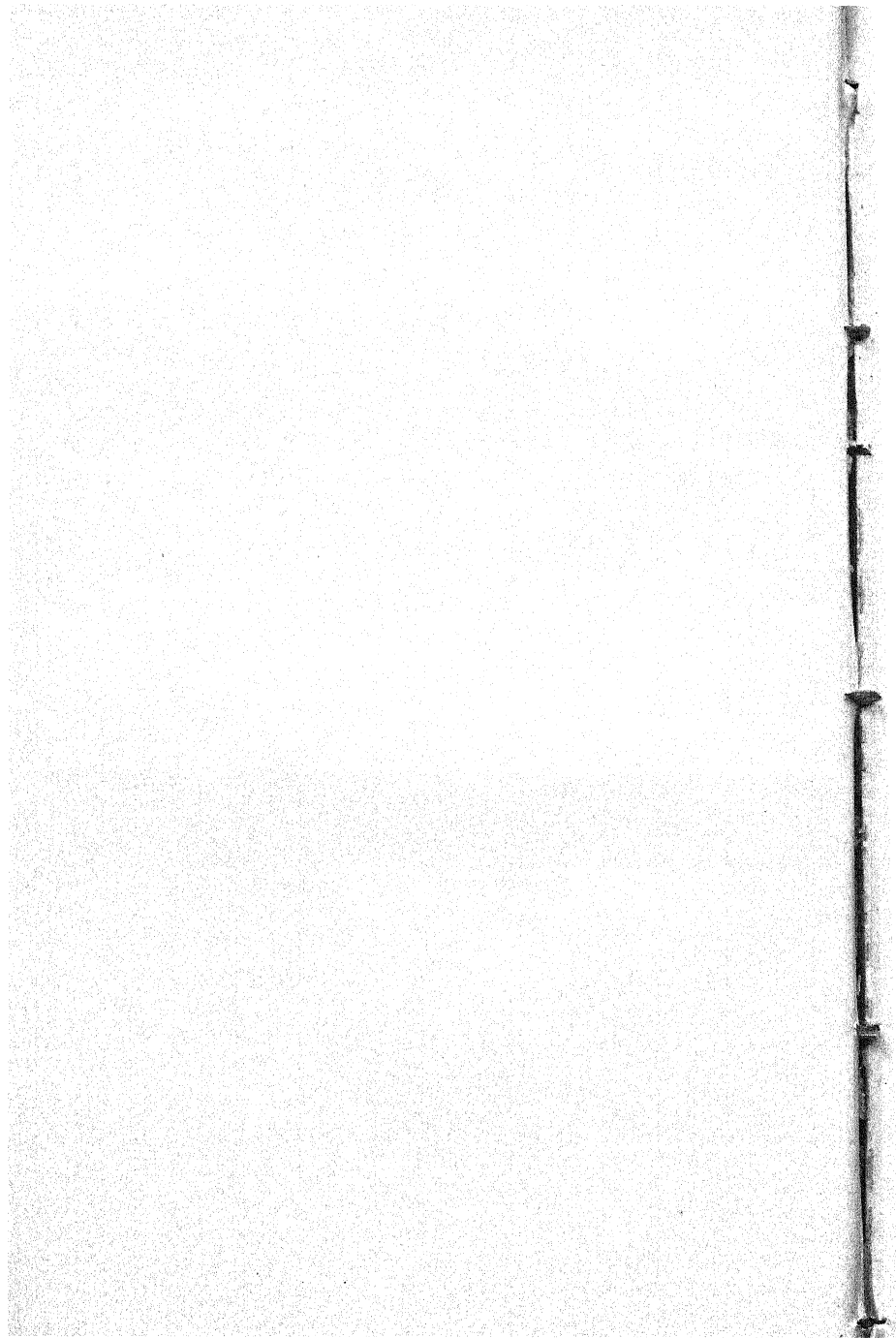
นาง	ส้อย	สอย	ส้ม
-Nāng	Soī	'soī	soṃ
Miss	Soi	pick	orange

ห่ม	เสื้อ	หอบ	เสื่อ	หนี	เสือ
-hom	sua	-hōp	-sua	'nī	'sua
wear	jacket	lug	mat	flee	tiger

ขึ้น	ต้น	ค้าง	เห็น	ค้าง
khun	ton	-khāng	'hen	khāng
climb	tree	khāng	see	ape

หัก	กิ่ง	ค้าง	ขว้าง	ค้าง
-hak	-king	-khāng	khwāng	khāng
break	branch	khāng	throw	ape

ถูก	ข้าง	ค้าง	ค้าง	กิ่ง	ค้าง	ตาย
-thūk	'si khāng	khāng	khāng	-king	-khāng	-tāi
hit	side	ape	lodge	branch	khāng	die



SEMITIC, SUMERIAN, HITTITE, AND EGYPTIAN SECTION

Hymn to Ninurta as Sirius (K 128)

By ERIC BURROWS, S.J., M.A., Campion Hall, Oxford

(PLATES II AND III)

ALTHOUGH this was one of the first hymns to Ninurta which attracted attention, it seems never to have been published fully. Strassmaier, AV. 7357+8575+6971+7129+8536+7586+8431, provides the text of obv. 1-12; 7303 gives obv. 19. Jensen, from two copies by Bezold, gave in *Kosmologie*, 470 ff., transcription and translation of obv. 1-13 only (cf. also Jastrow, *Religion*, i, 149). I have been able to copy the full text through the kindness of Sir Ernest Wallis Budge. I am greatly indebted to Professor Langdon for help of all kinds in editing it. References and other matter in the notes which I owe to him have been marked [L.].

The subject of the hymn, as indicated by the subscription, is an *ikrib* hymn to the star *Kaksidi* rising heliacally. It is generally agreed that the long controversy about *Kaksidi* has ended in its identification with Sirius (and, less certainly, one or two other stars of Canis Major). Our hymn, and other texts, equate *Kaksidi* to the god Ninurta. The present text (obv. 8, 14 f., rev. 6) suggests something nearer to an identification of Ninurta with *Kaksidi* than to mere symbolism (cf. also King, *Magic*, No. 50, catch-line).

The dedications to Ninurta by Ašurnasirpal and Šamši-Adad (*KB.* i, 50 and 174) contain a number of parallels to the present text, and will be useful for the restorations.

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

1. ^{[il]u} Maš šur-bu-ú ilu kar-du a-ša-ri[d ^{ila}]ni A-nun-na-ki
mu-ma'-ir ^{ilani} Igigi

Ninurta, mighty one, heroic god, prince of the Anunnaki,
commander of the Igigi,

2. *daṣan kul-la-ti sa-niḫ mit-ḥur-t[ī mu-ša]ḥ-li iḫ-li-ti mu-nam-mir e-tu-ti*

Judge of the universe, fixer of harmony, enlightener of the darkness, illuminator of the gloom,

3. *pa-ri-is pu-ru-us-si-e [a]-na nišē^{pl} a-pa-a-ti*

Who dost decree the decrees unto the human race,

4. *be-li šu-pu-ú mu-tib šér mati ša ina g[a (?) -bī (?) -ti-šù murus ti'-i lim-nu*

My glorious Lord, who makest good the health of the land, by whose command (?) the evil headache

5. *aḥ-ḥa-zu tup-ka-a-ti murṣu nak-du i-tur-ru áš-ru-uš-šù*

The world (?) -seizer, the dread sickness, returns to its place,

6. *ri-mi-nu-ú ga-mil nap-šá-ti mu-bal-lit m[i-tu-t]u*

Merciful one, sparer of life, quickener of the dead,

7. *ta-mi-[i]ḥ kit-ti u mi-šà-ri mu-ḥal-liḫ . . .*

Holder of justice and right, destroyer of . . .

8. *šu-ku-du [la] a-ni-ḥu šá kul-lat ai-bi i- . . .*

Arrow unresting, that all enemies doth . . .

9. *ú-mu ra-[bu]-ú ta-mi-iḥ šir-ri-[ti šame^e u iršitim^{tim}]*

Meridian (splendour) (?), holder of the reins of heaven and earth,

10. *daṣan pu-ru-us-si-e ba-ru-ú te-ri-[e-te . . .*

Judge of decrees, diviner of laws . . .

11. *il^u GIBIL mun-na-aḥ-zu ka-mu-ú lim-[nu-ti . . .*

Consuming fire, burning the wicked . . .

12. *šá^{kakab} Kak-si-di ina šamē^e zi-kir-šu ina [g]i-mir^{ilani} Igigi šùr-b[u . . .*

Whose title in heaven is Kaksidi; among the host of the Igigi mighty is thy . . .

13. *ina kul-lat ka-la ilāni šu-[un]-na-tu [i]ḥu-ut-ka*

Among the totality of the gods has thy divinity been announced;

14. *ina ni-pi-iḫ kakkabāni* ^{il}*nu-um-mu-ru zi-m[u-ka ki-ma*
il *Šamši*^{ši}

In the rising of the stars thy face is made to shine like the sun.

15. *ta-bar-ri si-ḫi-ip da-ād-me* [. . .] *nu-ri-ka* (?) . . .

Thou beholdest the totality of habitations; thy light . . .

16. *te-ni-še-e-ti áš-šù na-as-ka* [*u u d*] *al-pu šu-[te-šu-ri* . . .

Mankind thou dost . . ., to lead aright (?) the oppressed and fallen . . .

17. *ina šà la i-šu-ú man-ma-na tu-kul-ta-šù at-ta* . . .

On him who has no one as his helper thou . . .

18. *ta-gam-mil šà ina šùr-ku bu-un-zu-[l]* *u* (?) *ma giš-pu* . . .

Thou hast compassion on him who in the offering is bound; magic . . .

19. *ul-tu a-ra-al-li-e ta-gab-bi ni-eš-su šà* (?) . . .

Out of Arallû thou commandest his raising up . . . (?),

- Rev. 1. *la-mu u gap-lu a-na mu-ú-tu šu-lu-ku-ma iz-ku-ru*
zi-kir-ka

The bound and enmeshed who is brought to death and has called on thy name.

2. *ri-mi-na-ta be-lum ina tap-di-e ta-gam-mil-šù u ana-ku*
mar barî pa-li-ḫu arad-ka

Thou art merciful, O Lord, in disaster thou art compassionate to him; and I, the son of the diviner, thy adorer, thy servant,—

3. *ur-ri dal-ḫu-ma a-še-' ma-ru-uš-ti di-i-nu šup-šuk-ma a-na*
la-ma-da áš-tu

My light is troubled and I see distress. The judgment is difficult, and hard to learn.

4. *pa-ra-as ár-ka-tam ni-sa-an-ni* ^{il}*Šamši*^{ši} *a-ku-šám-ma ina*
muši ú-ka-ai reš-ka

For the decision of the future I have brought the sacrifices of Šamaš; and in the night I wait upon thyself.

5. *a-na la-ma-da ar-ka-ti at-t[a]-zíz ma-ḫar-ka a-na šu-te*
šu-ru di-i-nu

To learn the future I stand before thee, that judgment be made straight.

6. *ni-iš ka-ti ra-ša-ku i-ziz-za-am-m[a ina] ki-rib šamê^e
ellûti ši-mi zi-kir pt-ia*

I have performed the lifting up of the hand. Stand forth now in the midst of the shining heavens: hear the invocation of my mouth.

7. *pu-tur ár-nu pu-su-us hi-[ti-t]i tu-bu-úk kat-ú-a lik-ru-
bu-ka*

Pardon wrong-doing, blot out iniquity. May the accumulated (gifts) in my hand(s) appeal to thee.

8. *pu-ku-ú-a lîb-ba-ka li-ni-[i]h e ta-rid i-ziz-za-am-ma*
Let my waiting appease thy heart! Descend not! Stand forth, and

9. *[di-n]a di-i-nu un-nin-ni-ia li-ki-e-ma ši-mi tes-li-ti*
Give judgment! Receive my cry and hear my prayer!

10. *[i-n]a mim-mu-ú ak-pu-du pu-ru-us-su-ú šu-kun-ma ina
an-ni-ka ki-nu-um*

In whatsoever I have purposed give a decision in thy faithful grace:

11. *[u] ma-'ir ur-tu u ana-ku ina maḥar-ka napistim^{tim}
lu-tir^{lu} Maš šûr-bu-ú*

And send a revelation, and let me before thee abound in life,
O great Ninurta!

12. *[ilu] el-la ina nikê izziz-za-am-ma ina kibiti-ia niš kati-ia
u mimma mala eppušu^{šu}*

O glorious god, at the sacrifices stand forth; and in my speech, the lifting up of my hand, and in whatsoever I do,

13. *[t]a-mit a-ka-ra-bu kit-ti lîb-ši*

In the inquiry which I present, let there be justice.

14. *[ik-r]ib^{kakkab} Kak-si-di ki-ma i[na] šit-šamši iz-za-zu*
Prayer to Kaksidi when it stands at sunrise.

2. *Mu-šaḥ-li*. Jensen restored *e-li*, translating "der da zuschliesst die Tür von der Finsterniss". The sense is good. "Closer of the door on darkness" and "enlightener of the darkness" might refer to the heliacal and acronychal risings of Sirius. *Sānik mithurti* "closer of the door" might possibly be justified by *CT*. 18, 3 c d, 1 ff., where a list of words for door includes *saniktum* and *maḥirtum*. The scribe, however, seems ignorant of a form *mithurtum* in this sense.

The only established meaning of *mithurti* is "agreement", "unity"; cf. Weidner, *Handb. d. Bab. Astron.*, 82, on Virolleaud, *Babyloniaca*, iv, 112, 59; Virolleaud, *Adad*, xvii, 14; *Babyloniaca*, iii, 302, 27 [L.]. According to the first reference, *mithurtu* = an intercalary period to harmonize the solar and lunar years. Now it is precisely from the heliacal rising of Sirius that an intercalary period was measured (Kugler, *Sternkunde*, i, 45-8, etc.). It is tempting to see a reference to this here. However, the very phrase *sānik mithurti* occurs elsewhere twice [L.], both times with reference to Nabu (Clay, *Miscell. Insc.* 43, 18, and Lehmann, *Šamaš-šum-ukin*, I⁵, Taf. viii, 2 = Pinckert, *Nebo*, 29), and the above special calendrical reference is hardly possible in these places. The more precise interpretation of the phrase may perhaps be determined as follows. The planets Mercury and Saturn are both named *Kakkab Zibanitum*, star of the balance (Kugler, *Ergänzungen* . . . 196³, cf. 220). Mercury is the planet of Nabu, Saturn a planet of Ninurta. Probably, therefore, the title *Sānik mithurti*, common to Nabu and Ninurta, means something like "Fixer of the Balance". This suits the context in all places.

For the restoration *mu-šaḥ-li* cf. Gray, *Šamaš*, No. 1, iv, 10 [L.].

4. Jensen writes "*ta*[one sign]-*ti-šu*" (untranslated), with an implicit correction of Strassmaier, who copied *ta*-[*nit*]-*ti-šu* (AV. 8536). But Strassmaier was right in supplying a syllable, and *tanittišu* is possible. Langdon, however, suggests *ga-bi-ti-šu* (cf. Ebeling, *KAR*. 119, 9), which is safer, and adopted

5. Langdon suggests *rit* instead of *tup*: thus *rit ka-a-ti* as *Maḫlu*, iii, 159. If I am right in reading *tup*, the omission of *ša* is rather awkward. Does *tupḫāti* perhaps translate NIGÍN in the complex RAB-GÁM-ME-NIGÍN, which is the usual equivalent of Abḫazu in Sumerian?

Iturru may be plural [L.]. If it is singular the demon Abḫazu is here identified with headache.

7. Restore perhaps according to Ašurnāširpal *loc. cit.* 8: *mu-hal-lik za-ia-a-ri*.

8. *Šukudu*, syn. of *tartaḫu*, Sem. name of *Kak-si-di* (syn. *kak-ban*): 2 R. 49, No. 3, 48 f., completed by ⊕ 259. Usage perhaps allows a distinction between *šukudu* = specifically *arrow* and *tartaḫu* = generically *dart*, etc. (cf. for *šukudu* besides M.-Arnolt, ZA. 28, 406, ZA. 8, 204 [L.]). Anyway, in the late period Kaksidi was imagined as an *arrow*, as Kugler has shown. Behind it stood the constellation *Ban* = Bow. Sirius (*α* Canis maj.) is the shining point (copper barb?) of the arrow; presumably one or more stars between this and the bow marked the shaft. Kugler variously suggests one or more of $\epsilon\eta\theta^{2\delta}$ Canis majoris, leaving others of Canis and *k. l.* Puppis for the bow (*Ergänz.*, 26, 30, 39, 49, 63, 141, 157, 218 [ϵ or η]). Perhaps, however, the image of the arrow is not of the highest antiquity: the principal arms of the early Sumerians were spears and clubs. *Kak+giš* occurs often with reference to the club, characteristic of Ningirsu, i.e. Ninurta. Compare also in *KBo* vi, p. 73 (Gilgames epic), 21 *giš kak* as a hero's weapon. (Perhaps also, if the redness of Sirius, as of blood, be supposed to have gained the star its place among divine weapons, it is likely to have been originally some other weapon than an arrow, in so far as a flying arrow could not reasonably be supposed to be blood-stained.)

That the god is (verbally) *identified* with the Arrow in l. 8 is not necessarily due to astral theology. In non-astral texts Ninurta is called a weapon, e.g. *Ninrag*, p. 16, 19; Šamši-Adad 18 (cf. in Heb. poetry, 2 Sam. i, 28).

9. *Ūmu rabū* can. probablv. *ver se* = (1) great lion. (2) great

storm, (3) great day. Not improbably it corresponds to a common title of Ninurta: *ud-gal-lu*, which occurs in Ašurnāširpal 5, Šamši-Adad 9. This in itself could mean "rain-cloud storm" or "south sun". The latter, by extension, could = noon-day (cf. the converse development: *meridies* = south). *Ūmu rabū* could render *ud-gal-lu* in either sense: "great storm" or "high day"; and Ninurta has both solar and storm-characters. In our text general scope and context favour an astral interpretation: either *great storm*, as flashing, or as *flood > flood of light*; or *high day*, with reference to the sun-like brilliance of *Seirios*. (As regards *ud-gal-lu*, the meaning *storm* has explicit authority from 5 R, 16, 47ef; CT. 25, 13, 31; cf. also King, *Magic*, No. 2, 14; but a solar reference is established by 4 R, 19, 48a; cf. also Zimmern, *Rit.*, No. 27, 10.)

For the restoration at the end of l. 9 cf. Ašurnāširpal 2, Šamši-Adad 3: *Mu-kil markaš šamē (u) iršitim*. A cosmic reference is credible, but not necessary. Cf. *Šalm. Balawat*, 5, 5.

11. *Munnahzu* supposes a masc. word for fire: perhaps *la'abu* (cf. Jensen), or *išu*, or *gibil*.

12. For the restoration perhaps *šur-bu-u šum-ka* [L.], and this occurs BA. v, 310, 41. However, the remains rather suggest *šur-bu palū-ka* = mighty is thy kingdom.

13. BA., loc. cit., 311, 2, has "*ina kal ilāni šur-ba-ta i-lut-ka*": but we require *šu-un-na-tu*, or [L.] *šu-ud-nu-na-ta* = is magnified.

14. Cf. *nu-un-mu-ru zi-mu-ka*, Scheil, *Rec. Trav.*, xviii, 21.

15. *Sihip dadme*: cf. Streck, *Assurban.* iii, 578 [L.]. For restoration at the end cf. 4 R, 17, 12b, *nūri-ka nam-ru kal nišē i-bar-ri*, which suggests a possible restoration. Cf. also Šamši-Adad 11 f.

18. Langdon, reading *bu-un-zu-ru*, has suggested $\sqrt{\text{bašdru}}$ = *bašālu*, bind, comparing for the idea *Šurpu*, ii, 86. It seems that we can actually read the final sign *lu*.

19. There seems to be an interesting parallel in BA. v, 321, 16 (the hymn contains other parallels): *ta-gab-bi niš-su*. So here:

ta-gab-bi ni-eš-[s]u . . . "thou commandest his raising up". This combines perfectly with our text. *SU* could also = *zumru*, to be followed perhaps by [*š*]a *n[a-ak-tu-t]i* (cf. preceding line in BA.): thus—"raising up of the bodies of the fallen." Either way, cf. King, *Magic*, No. 2, 22: *ša a-na a-ra-al-[li]-e šu-ru-du pa-gar-šu tutirara* = of him who is brought down to Arallû his body dost thou restore (addressed to Ninurta).

The idea is interesting. It may be recalled that the heliacal rising (i.e. reappearance) of Sirius has been thought to mark the term of the lamentations for the dead Tamuz.

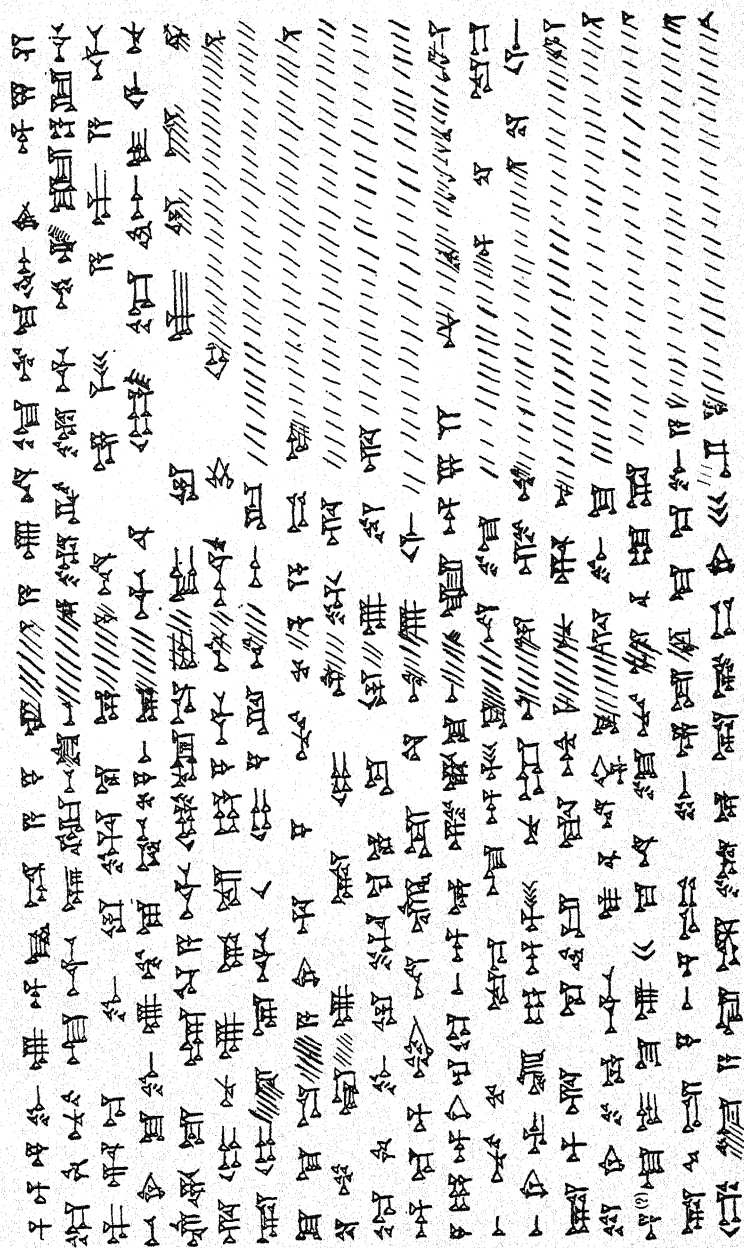
Rev. 4. *Nisannu* is syn. of *nisakku*, Sum. *ni-sag*, sacrifice, CT. xi, 39, Rm. 341, rev. 7 = CT. xii, 7a, 31. For *kâšu* = bring, syn. *ubbulu*, see 3 R, 57a, 13. *u-ka-ai rêš-ka*: cf. King, *Magic*, No. 8, 8 [L.].

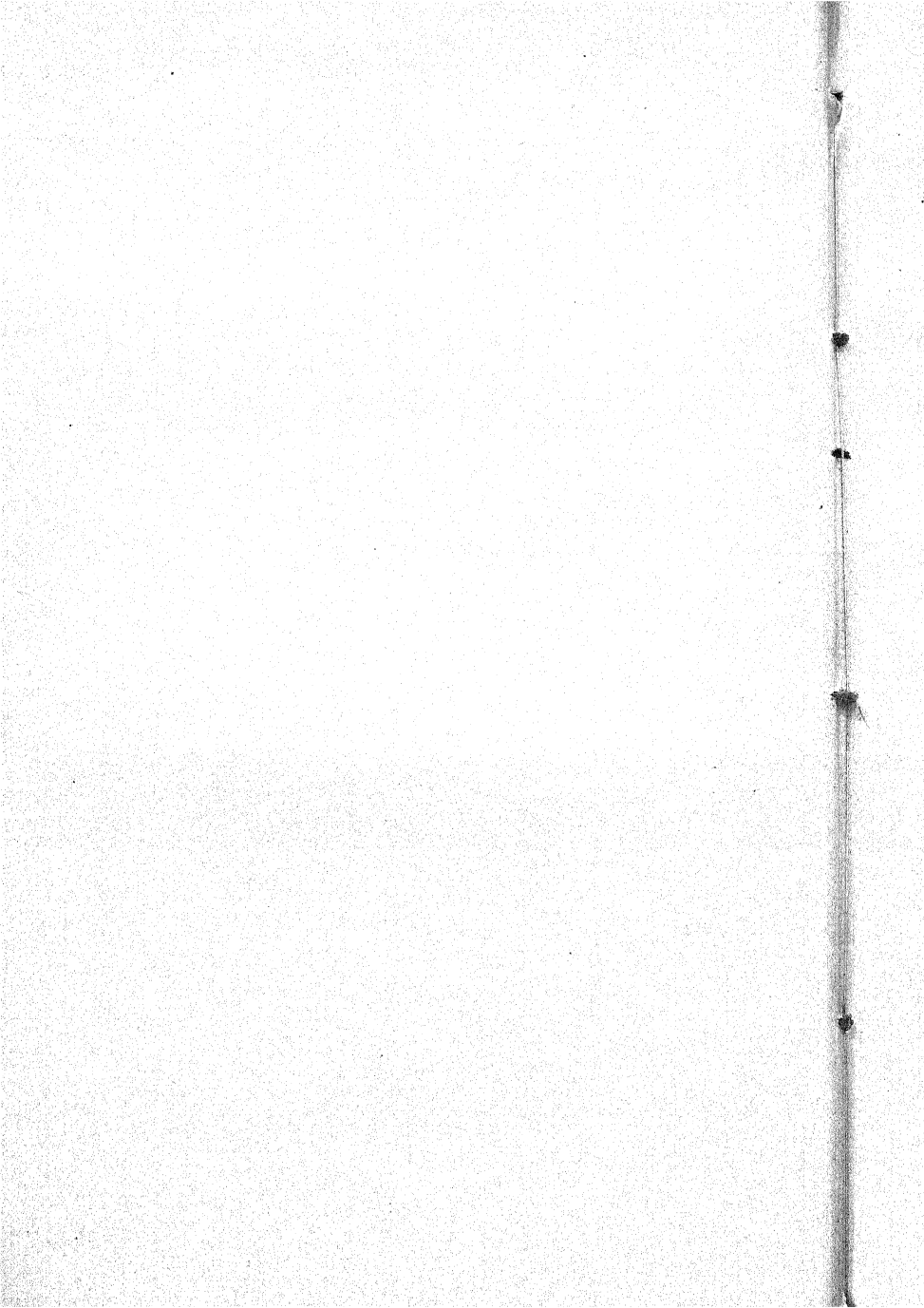
14. This line is given in Bezold's *Catalogue*, not quite correctly; probably restore as above. On the use of *ikrib* hymns as prayers of *barû* priests in preparation for taking omens, see Langdon in RA. xii, 189. Compare also Scheil, RA. 13, 129, l. 2, where an offering of silver is promised to a deity if the deity shall restore a man to health. Here *ikribu* . . . *ša ikrubu* means "a vow which he vowed" [L.].

Twice, probably, in this prayer (obv. 16, rev. 5) occurs *šutêšuru* with reference to Kaksidi. As this is a possible interpretation of *si-di* (*šutêšuri* occurs as such CT. 16, 19, 61), these lines may indicate in what sense the diviners understood *kakkab kaksidi*; viz. as *kakkab mešrê* (Br. 5278) = "star of direction" in a religious sense.¹

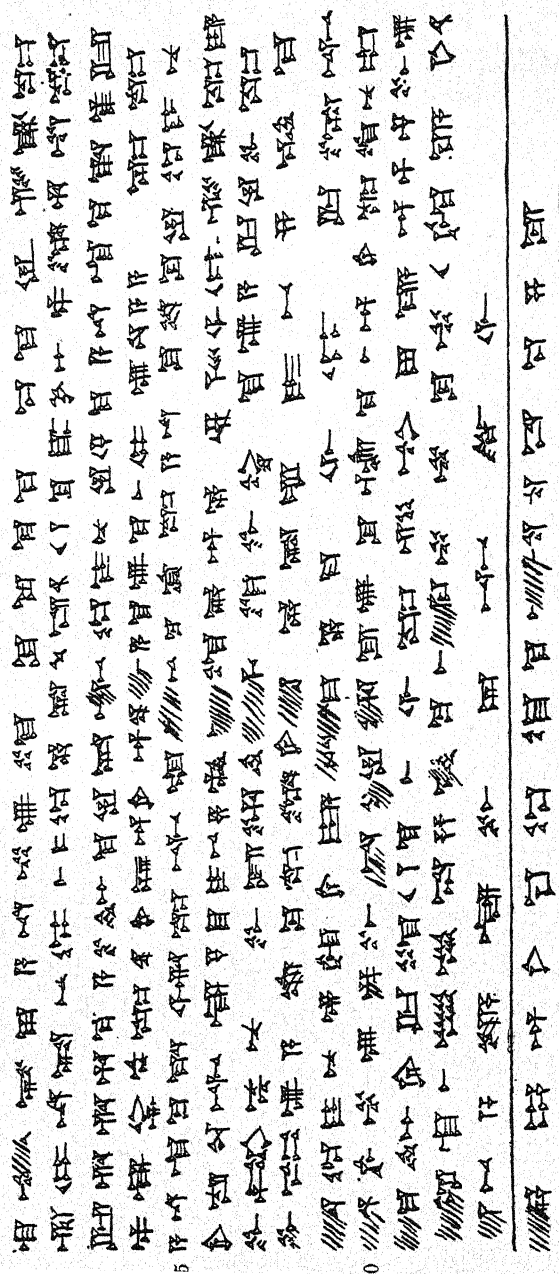
¹ My copy of K 128 is not spaced with perfect accuracy; and joined signs have been separated, except the perhaps uncertain *ina šà*, obv. 17.

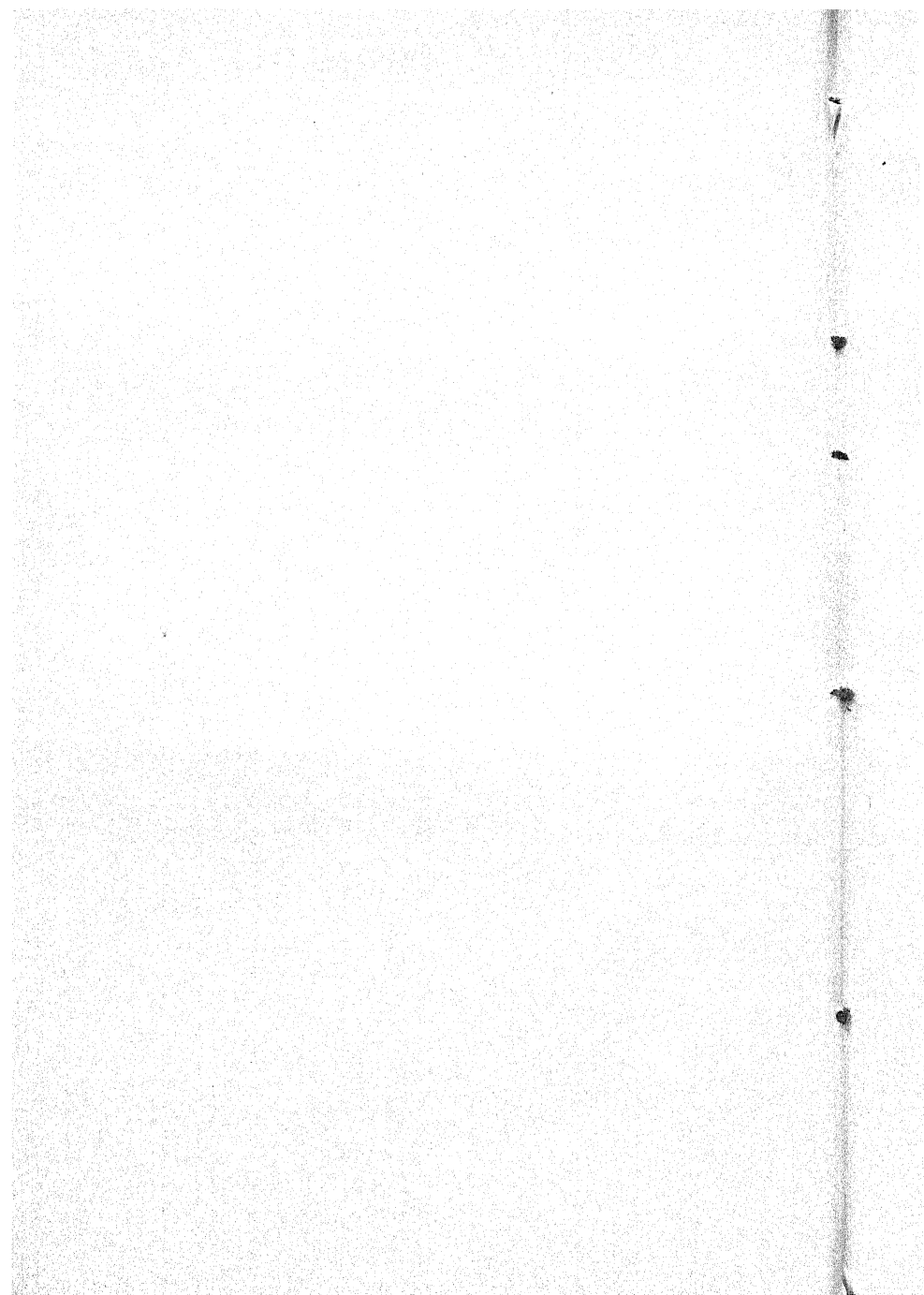
K 128 Obv.





K 128 Rev.





The Sale of a Priesthood

By G. R. DRIVER, Magdalen College, Oxford

(PLATES IV AND V)

THE tablet of which I here give a text and translation was given by Col. Stevenson, of the Ordnance in Mesopotamia, to Professor Langdon, to whom I am indebted for much help in its decipherment. It was found at Wannah wa-Sa'dûm,¹ a group of mounds in S. Babylonia, situated on the Euphrates, to the west of Nippur, and a little to the south-west of Daghara,² where other isolated inscriptions of the reigns of Narâm-Sin and Nebuchadrezzar II concerning Marad have already been found.³

The tablet deals with the sale of the part-tenure or "course" of service in a *giral*-priesthood in a chapel attached to the temple of Lugal-Marad,⁴ the deified son of Narâm-Sin, king of Accad (c. 2800 B.C.),⁵ and at this time the chief local deity, and of the other gods "as many as there be" of Marad. The seller was Enlil-udammiq, the son of Marduk-šarrâni, and the purchaser Marduk-šâpik-zêri, the son of Aqar-Marduk. Both were pluralists, being at the same time priests of Ištar at Babylon. The share in the priesthood which changed hands is said to have been an *išqu*⁶ or "portion" according to the share of Šumâ, the son of Aqar-aplu, but how this "portion" came into the possession of Enlil-udammiq is not stated; possibly it had been the subject of a previous sale.

¹ Or Wānah wa-Sadum (*RA.*, ix, 84), or Wannat-us-Sa'dûm (Kiepert on his *Ruinenfelder der Umgegend von Babylon*).

² See Clay in *OLZ.* 1914, 110; the identification of Marad, with which the document is concerned, with Wannah-wa-Sa'dûm is confirmed by the discovery of this tablet there.

³ See *RA.*, ix, 84; and xi, 88-91.

⁴ See Langdon, *NBKI.*, *Neb.*, No. 3, pp. 78-81; and Thureau-Dangin in *RA.*, xi, 88-91.

⁵ Deimel, *Panth. Bab.*, p. 168, No. 1976.

⁶ Delitzsch (*HWB.*, p. 147b) reads *išqu*, Muss-Arnolt (*AWB.*, p. 77a)

The Sum. GIR.LAL. is usually translated *náš patri* "dagger-bearer"¹ and *îābihu* "slaughterer"²; but the occurrence in several documents of the abstract noun GIR.LAL.-ú-tu points to the existence of the loan-words *giralû* and *giralûtu*, though these forms have not actually been found; there is little probability in the compound loan-word *náš patrûtu* assumed by Muss-Arnolt.³ Little indeed is known of the functions of the *giral*-priest; but it may justly be inferred from the meaning of the Sumerian title that he was the bearer of the sacrificial dagger or possibly the actual slayer of the victim at the sacrifice.⁴ In this sense the title sometimes assumed the form GIR.LAL.QAR, defining the function of the *giral* more closely; for Sum. QAR = "knife".⁵ Accordingly we find that at the daily offices every morning at Erech it was the *giral*-priest who not only killed the victims but also recited the prescribed prayers over them as they were slaughtered; again, the *giral*-priest severed the heads of two images at the New Year's celebrations at Babylon.⁶

At first sight the *išqu*, according to the share of Šumâ, appears to cause a difficulty; but a comparison of what happened at other temples will, I think, make its meaning clear. In one extant document a woman, who had somehow become possessed of a *giral*-priesthood, and her husband, through whom she probably exercised the office, sold their rights for two days in the year in the *giral*-priesthood in the temple called the Ezida at Borsippa. Probably a great temple had hundreds of *giral*-priests who came up periodically to the temple to serve their turn for so many days; the *išqu*, or

¹ Br., No. 309.

² Meissn., No. 214.

³ Muss-Arnolt, *AWB.*, p. 801a.

⁴ In another syllabary *nâkisu* "slayer" is given as synonym of this title (*Bab.*, vii, pl. 6, ii, 29-30).

⁵ Cf. GIR.LAL.*qar-ri* in Th.-Dangin, *Rituels*, 133, 214, and Strassmaier, *Nbk.* 300, 14; cf. IV R. 40, 4, 25.

⁶ Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels*, 78, 9.

“portion”, according to the share of Šumâ in the *girlal*-priesthood at Marad, will have been his “turn” in the rotation of the priests. The “share” or “portion” of such a priest may perhaps not unfairly be compared to the “courses of service” of the Jewish priests and Levites. This couple sold their two days’ office for 2 manehs and 2 shekels; Šumâ’s “share” only brings in 1 maneh of silver. The price, therefore, must have depended on the number of days for which a priest’s turn lasted, although in our document this is not stated, and on the value of the perquisites falling to the priest, which would naturally depend largely on the size and fame of the temple; doubtless there was a regular tariff regulating the sale of such offices in force at every temple. These perquisites were often of considerable value: thus in a record of a priesthood in an unimportant temple of Iṣhara, called the Ešaturra, at Babylon, dated in the thirty-second year of Nebuchadrezzar II (604–562 B.C.), the sacrificial priest received the small intestines (*šér irru sâhirûti*), the ribs (*šér gabbu*), the diaphragm (?) (*šér gunni šili*), the *šér nukasâti*, of which the meaning is unknown, the rennet-stomach (*šér pî karši*), part of the liver (?) (*šér na[sraptu]*), as well as seven sheep-hides (*šihatu ša immeri*), the stomach (?) (*šér rikiti*), the *šér talikkâti* and the *šér hîlidamu*, of which the sense is not yet known, and the loins (*šér hinši*).¹ In the reign of Darius (522–485 B.C.) the holder of this same office sold it for 3 manehs of silver; this deed of sale gives almost the same list of perquisites as the preceding document, except that the seven sheep-hides are omitted, while two joints are added.² The last-mentioned seller of this office, a certain Izkur-Marduk by name, was, like Enlil-udammiq, a pluralist; for he held also the same office for one day in the year, the 8th of Nisan, in the temples of Papsukkal and of Ninêanna at Babylon, where his fee was “both right hams” (*šér imitti qâtâ*) of the oxen and male sheep sacrificed on the day of his “course”.

¹ Strassmaier, *Nbk.* 247.

² Peiser, *BV.*, 107.

In yet another case the perquisites were such that a *girlal*-priest at the temple of Išhara in the reign of Darius was able to pledge the income of his office in settlement of a debt.¹ When the portion that fell to a priest from an office which was held only for a day or two days in the year was so great, it is small wonder that reformers from the time of Urukagina, king of Lagash (c. 2800 B.C.),² onwards found themselves continually called upon to curtail the prerogatives and check the rapacity of the priesthood.

And, finally, are we to assume, from the fact that Enlil-udammiq puts the impression of his nail twelve times on the tablet in place of his signature, that in spite of the rich emoluments of their office the standard of education among the priests was not necessarily above that of the surrounding population?

The deed of sale, of which the text follows, is dated in the second year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, king of Babylon (668-648 B.C.).

0. [GIŠ.ŠUB.]BA.(*amēl*) GIR.LAL.-ú-tu ša bīt pa-pa-ḥu
[ša(*il*)Lugal-Marad(da)]i ilāni (MEŠ) Marad(da.KI) ma-la
ba-šú-ú
... pu-ut zitti³ ša I Šú-ma-a māri-šu ša
I A-qar-[*aplu*] I (*il*) Marduk-šá-pik-zê-ri māri-šu ša I
A-qar-(*il*) Marduk
5. mār (*amēl*) [šangé (*ilat*) Ištar] TIN.TIR (KI) it-ti I (*il*)
Enlil-udammiq(*iq*)
māri-šu ša [(*il*)] Marduk-šarrāni (a-ni) mār (*amēl*) šangé
(*ilat*) Ištar TIN.[TIR] (KI)
ki-[i I] MA.NA.kaspi šibirti KI.LAM.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

² See Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sum. u. Akk. Königsinschriften*, pp. 45-57.

³ See Koschaker, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgerschaftsrecht*, pp. 211-12.

⁴ The *šibirti maḥiri* is here equated with the *šánu gamirtu* and cannot therefore here mean either "pledge" (Johns, *ADD.* iii, 74-8) or "advance", "part-payment", or *Nebenkosten* (Muss-Arnolt, *AWB.*, p. 1005b). Dr. Daiches has brought to my notice Talm. שו"ב "receipt" (Levy, *Neuh. u. Chald. Wtb.*, iv, 502b); possibly *šibirtu* denotes "settlement" of the purchase-price.

- [im-bi]-e¹-ma i-šam šim-šu gamirtu . . .
 naphar I MA. NA [kaspu] pišu(ú) šúna a-nam-[di-in it]-ma
 10. (amél) GIR.LAL.-ú-[tu ša bít pa-pa-ḥu (il) LUGAL.-
 Marad] (da)
 ù ilāni (MEŠ) Marad (da.KI) [ma-la ba-šú]-ú
 I (il) Marduk-šápiḫ-zêri apil-šu ša I A-qar-(il) [Marduk
 mâr (amél) šangê (ilat) Ištar TIN-TIR] (KI)
 it-ti I (il) Enlil-udammig(iq) mârî-šu ša I [(il) Marduk-
 šarrâni] (a-ni)
 mâr (amél) šangê (ilat) Ištar TIN.TIR (KI)² ki-i kas-pa
 ga-mir-ti
 15. id-din ma-ḥir a-pil za-ka ru-gum-ma-a ul i-ši
 ul i-tur-ma a-na a-ḥa-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu
 ma-ti-ma ina arkat úmê (MEŠ) ina aḥê (MEŠ) kimti
 nišúti ù sa-lat ša bít I (il) Enlil-udammig(iq)
 ša uššu-ma ina eli išqi (amél) GIR.LAL.-ú-tu šuáti³
 20. i-dib-bu-ub ú-šad-ba-bu ittabalkatu(ú) ú-pa-qa-ru um-ma
 išqi (amél) GIR.LAL.-ú-tu šuáti³ ul na-din-ma kaspu ul
 ma-ḥir
 i-qab-bu-ú kasap im-ḥur a-di 12 TA.A.AN i-ta-nap-pal
 ú-mu (amél) si-ḥu-ú u (amél) pa-qir-ra-nu ša a-ḥu⁴ išqi
 (amél) GIR.LAL.-ú-tu ša bít pa-pa-ḥu (il) Lugal-Marad-
 (da) ù ilāni
 25. Marad (da.KI) ma-la ba-šú-ú pu-ut zitti ša Šú-ma-a

¹ For itti . . . šibirti maḥiri imbê "quoted . . . the price", see Peiser, *KAS.*, p. 12, ll. 23-5; cf. p. 10, ll. 35-7; p. 10, ll. 10-12; p. 36, ll. 6-9; p. 42, ll. 13-15.

² The full phrase, as given in ll. 7, 8, is here omitted.

³ Id. HAR.MEŠ.; the reason for adding the sign of the plural is uncertain.

⁴ As in English we say "to take the side of" a person, so the Babylonian said "to love the side of" a thing; cf. *RA.* xv, 64, 19: *šumma aḥ kitti tarām* "if thou lovest the side (*Angl.* cause) of truth". By an extension of this usage aḥu (c.c. aḥ) "side" or "cause" came to be employed as a prep. meaning "because of", "on account of"; cf. Ungnad, *BB.*, 154, 31-32: *ál aḥ ḥubti ál ina pilši kašdaku* "neither because of robbery nor in (for) burglary have I been seized" (where Ungnad incorrectly doubts the reading); *Creation*, ii, 3: *aḥ tur gimilli* "for the sake of vengeance".

- mâri-šu ša I *A-qar-aplu it-tab-šu-ú*¹ I (il) *Enlil-udammīq(iq) mār-šu ša I (il) Marduk-šarrāni(a-ni) mār (awēl) šangē (ilat) Ištar TIN.TIR (KI)*
- R. iṭ-tir²-ma a-na I (il) *Marduk-šāpik-zēri mārī-šu ša I A-qar-(il) Marduk mār (amēl) šangē (ilat) Ištar TIN.TIR (KI) i-nam-di-nu*
30. ina ka-nak (aban) kunukki šumāte (MEŠ)
maḥar I (il) *Marduk-ētir mār I Ga-ḫal (amēl) ēriḫ bīti*³
(il) *Sakut*
maḥar I *Mu-še-zib-(il) Marduk mār I (il) Bēl-e-tē-ri*
maḥar I *Kudurru mārī-šu ša I U-pa-qu mār (amēl) šangē (ilat) Ištar TIN.TIR (KI)*
maḥar I *Za-kir mārī-šu ša I U-pa-qu mār (amēl) šangē (ilat) Ištar TIN.TIR (KI)*
35. maḥar I (il) *Bēl-ukin mārī-šu ša I (il) Enlil-udammīq(iq) mār (amēl) šangē (ilat) Ištar TIN.TIR (KI)*
nādinānu (na-nu) išqi
maḥar I (il) *Nabū-aḫē (MEŠ)-bul-liṭ mārī-šu ša I Bi-ta-a mār (amēl) ramki*⁴ (il) *Pap-sukkal*
maḥar I *Zēr-ú-tù mārī-šu ša I Za-kir mār (amēl) šangē (ilat) Ištar TIN.TIR (KI)*
maḥar I (il) *Bēl-aḫ-iddin mārī-šu ša I Kudurru mār (amēl) šangē (ilat) Ištar TIN.TIR (KI)*
40. maḥar I *Kudurru mārī-šu ša I (il) Nabū-zēr-ib-ni mār (amēl) rabá(a) ša (il) Ninurta*
maḥar I *Iqīšá(ša)-(il) Marduk mārī-šu ša I (il) Bēl-ib-ni mār (amēl) addubi*⁵
maḥar I *Bēl-aḫ-iddin mārī-šu ša (il) Bēl-iddin amēli ša na-aḫ-bi-e-šu*⁶

¹ Omitted on the tablet.² See Delitzsch, *HWB.*, p. 466.³ Literally: "one that enters the temple," i.e. a kind of lay-priest who was permitted to enter the inner sanctuary of the temple (Ungnad, *Bab. Br.*, p. 270).⁴ Id. KAD (Br., No. 2700); for KAD = *ramku*, see col. viii, l. 3, of the syllabary from Nippur (Poebel, *PBS.* v, 102). The word occurs written phonetically in Langdon, *NBKI.*, 216, 9.⁵ Id. AD.KID (Meissn., No. 2760); cp. *CH.* xxiii b 39.⁶ This title is new; two words *naḫbá* are known: (1) (*mašak*) *naḫbá* (pl. *naḫbátum*), an object of leather, apparently a sheath of a dagger (*RA.*,

maḥar I (il) *Nabû-za-kir māri-šu ša I Šul-lu-mu*
ù (amēl) tupšarru ša-tir IM.DUP.¹ I (il) *Nabû-apal-*
nāšir(ir)

45. *māri-šu ša Ib-na-a* TIN.TIR (KI) (*aral*) *Ulûlu* 2 KAM
ûmu 20 KAM *šattu* 2 KAM (il) *Šamaš-šum-ukinnu(nu)*
šu-pur I (il) *Enlil-udammīq(iq) māri-šu ša I (il) Marduk-*
šarrāni (a-ni)
mār (amēl) šangē (ilat) Ištar TIN.TIR (KI) *ki-ma (aban)*
*kunukki-šu*²

Marduk-šâpik-zêri, the son of Aqar-Marduk, a priest of Ištar of Babylon [has named] 1 maneh of silver in settlement of the price and has bought at its full value a "course" in the *girlal*-priesthood in the chapel [of (the god) Lugal-Marad] and the gods, as many as there be, of Marad, to the extent of the share of Šumâ, the son of Aqar-aplu, from Enlil-udammīq the son of Marduk-šarrâni, a priest of Ištar of Babylon. . . . He has sworn (saying): "I will give the sum of 1 maneh of pure silver as the price." Marduk-šâpik-zêri, the son of Aqar-[Marduk, a priest of Ištar of] Babylon (has bought) the office of *girlal*-priest [in the chapel of (the god) Lugal-Marad] and of the gods, [as many as there] be, of Marad from Enlil-udammīq the son of [Marduk]-šarrâni, a priest of Ištar of Babylon; according to the full value has he paid (the price; and) he has received (it and) has been paid; he is quit (and) shall have no claim (against the buyer); he shall not go back (on the bargain), and they shall raise no claims against one another. If ever, at any time in the days to come, (there be any) of the brothers, family, people (or) relations of the house of Enlil-udammīq viii, 184, 2); and (2) *naḥbû*, a kind of bowl or vessel, from *ḥabû* "to dip" (ZA. xvii, 199, n. 4). The official would seem, therefore, to have been an official, possibly a priest, who either took charge of the dagger for the *girlal*-priest or held the bowl for the celebrating priest in some service of the temple, perhaps to catch the victim's blood.

¹ The Semitic equivalent is not known; possibly it was read *tuppi tîti* "clay-tablet" (cp. Delitzsch, *Sum. Gloss.*, pp. 25, 123). The id. occurs again in CT. xvii, 18, 19; cp. Peiser, *BV.*, 313a.

² The impression of the thumb-nail appears about twenty times on the edges of the tablet.

who shall come forward and bring a lawsuit, cause a lawsuit to be brought, raise objection (or) file a suit and speak, saying: "The 'course' in that *girlal*-priesthood has not been sold and the money has not been received": he shall pay twelve times the money which he has received. When (there be) opponent or suitor who shall arise in regard to the "course" in that *girlal*-priesthood in the chapel of (the god) Lugal-Marad and the gods, as many as there be, of Marad to the extent of the share of Šumâ, the son of Aqar-aplu, Enlil-udammiq, the son of Marduk-šarrâni, a priest of Ištar at Babylon, has been satisfied, and they shall give (it) to Marduk-šâpik-zêri, the son of Aqar-Marduk, a priest of Ištar at Babylon.

The names (of the witnesses present) at the setting of the seal:—

Before Marduk-êtir the son of Gaḫal, a lay-brother (?) of the temple of Sakkut;

before Mušêzib-Marduk the son of Bêl-êteri;

before Kudurru the son of Upaqu, a priest of Ištar at Babylon;

before Zâkir the son of Upaqu, a priest of Ištar at Babylon;

before Bêl-ukîn the son of Enlil-udammiq, a priest of Ištar at Babylon, seller of the 'course';

before Nabû-aḫê-bullit the son of Bitâ, a libation-priest of Papsukkal;

before Zêrûtu the son of Zâkir, a priest of Ištar at Babylon;

before Bêl-aḫ-iddin the son of Kudurru, a priest of Ištar at Babylon;

before Kudurru the son of Nabû-zêr-ibni, the high-priest of Ninurta;

before Iqîšâ-Marduk the son of Bêl-ibni the caulker;

before Bêl-aḫ-iddin the son of Bêl-iddin, the official in charge of his *naḫbû*;

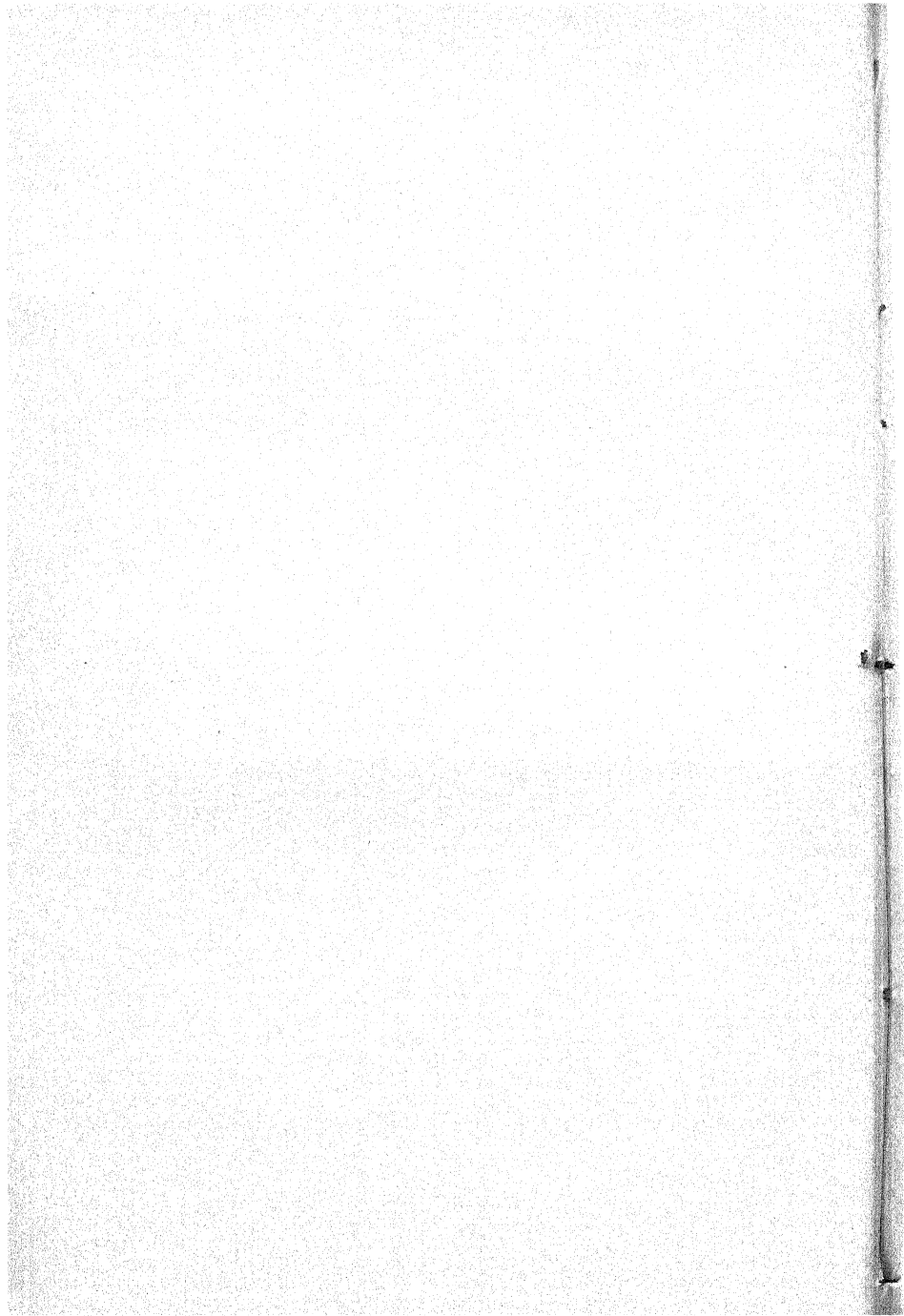
before Nabû-zâkir the son of Šullumu.

And the scribe who wrote the clay-tablet (was) Nabû-apal-nâsir the son of Ibnâ (at) Babylon. The second month of Ulûl, the 20th day, the second year of Šamaš-šum-ukîn.

(Impression of the) nail of Enlil-udammiq the son of Marduk-šarrâni, a priest of Ištar at Babylon, in place of his seal.

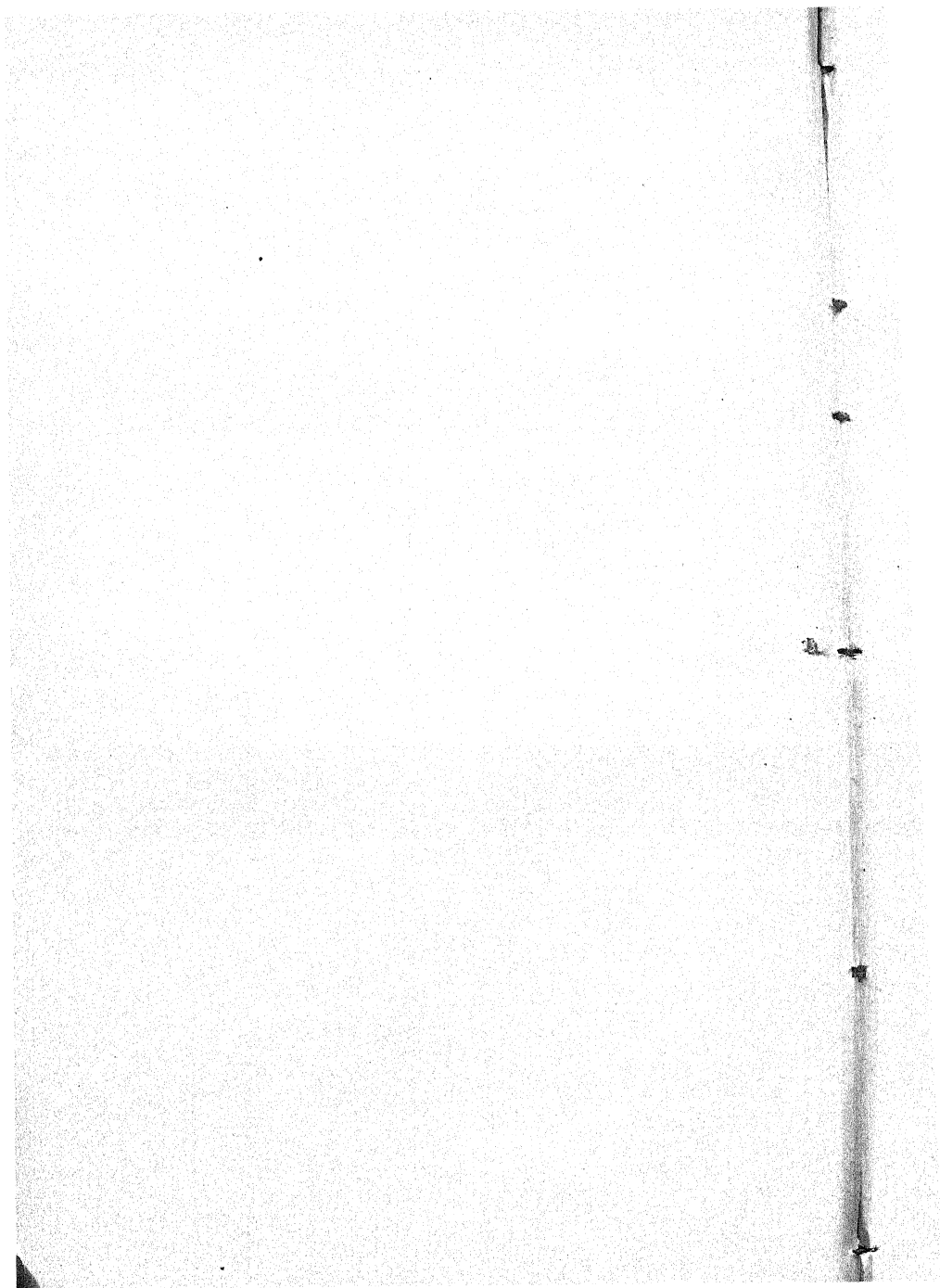
Obverse.

0. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔



Reverse.

2. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒



Our Earliest Historical Contacts with the Indo-Europeans

By D. D. LUCKENBILL

THE recognition of the kinship of many of the languages of Asia and Europe was the starting-point of the science of Indo-European philology; and hardly was the first linguistic family-tree set up before there was inaugurated the search for the original home of the Indo-Europeans, a search which has been going on for nigh to a century, and whose chief accomplishment to date has been a voluminous literature. Needless to say, the site of the first home has not yet been fixed. In the course of time the quest had gradually shifted from Asia, where Bactria served as a convenient centre for the original community, over to Europe, where Germany and Scandinavia were the chief claimants for this honour, when the discovery of Tocharish, a centum-language, once more revived the hypothesis of the Asiatic origin of the Indo-Europeans.¹ Far be it from an Assyriologist to take sides in this matter: but may he be permitted to remind the Indo-European scholars that the chances of finding older *historical* information about the Indo-Europeans than that furnished by the inscriptions from the Egypto-Babylonian cultural area are very slight indeed? It is the purpose of this paper to point out the earliest known contacts of the Indo-Europeans with that cultural area and then to speculate a little as to when and whence these tribes may have come into Asia Minor and on into the Semitic world. Since our venture into the dark realm of Indo-European beginnings is to be *via* Egyptian and Babylonian history, and furthermore, since one of the chief arguments to be advanced for believing that we have

¹ See Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, i, pt. 2, §§ 561-70; and *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Indo-European Languages," for the literature.

actually come to grips with real Indo-Europeans is based upon the linguistic development of the "Hittite", which has a close parallel in early Egyptian history, let us turn first to the Nile and the Euphrates Valleys and the region lying between.

The ancient Semitic world may be fairly accurately described, geographically, as the Arabian peninsula south of the Taurus and west of the Zagros mountains, and this region still remains the one homeland of the sons of Shem. It is true that they have wandered outside this area in both ancient and modern times, but usually to be speedily absorbed, or at least to be diluted almost beyond racial and linguistic recognition, by the non-Semites whom they conquered or among whom they took up a peaceful abode. Whether or not Arabia is the "cradle of the Semites", that is to say, the place where they became differentiated from their brethren, is a matter we need not discuss here. There is no evidence whatever of their having migrated to Arabia from elsewhere during the five thousand years of history.

Our earliest records having to do with Semites date from about 3000 B.C., but archæological remains and dynastic lists make it certain that the non-Semitic Sumerians and the Semitic Babylonians had been struggling for the supremacy in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley for centuries before this date. The written documents show these two peoples in the Valley from 3000 to 2000 B.C., the Sumerians in the south, the Semites in the north, but there is archæological evidence which points to a Sumerian occupation in the pre-historic period of the whole region from Assur (Assyria) to the Persian Gulf.¹ Just when the Semites began to occupy the Valley, if indeed they were not here before the Sumerian invasion and during their supremacy, we have no means of telling. Certain it is, however, that we can no longer think of the Dynasty of Sargon of Akkad (beginning

¹ Cf. Langdon, "Sumerian Origins and Racial Characteristics": *Archæologia*, lxx, 145 f.

about 2850 B.C.) as representing the earliest Semitic occupation of this region. The writer has discussed this point in detail elsewhere, reaching the conclusion that the Semites who gave to Babylonia the language which came to be called Akkadian were members of the same Semitic family whose sons invaded Egypt in pre-historic times.¹ We shall return to this Semitic invasion of the Nile Valley presently.

That the western part of the Arabian peninsula was also in the hands of the Semites in the third pre-Christian millennium we infer from such archaeological evidence as the reliefs of Sahure's pyramid-temple at Abusir, while the hundreds of "Amorite" personal names found in the First Dynasty Babylonian business and legal documents raise this inference to a certainty. (In view of the preposterous claims made for "Amurru" as the original home of the Babylonian culture, let me add that these personal names show that the language of Syria-Palestine of *circa* 2500 B.C. was already as characteristically West-Semitic as the Hebrew of a later day.) Indeed, the relief of King Semerkhet in the Wadi Maghâra of the Sinai peninsula and the ivory tablet of King Usephais show that the Egyptians of the earliest dynasties (fourth millennium) were constantly coming in hostile contact with Semitic bedouin tribes to the east of the Nile Valley and in Syria.

But the Semite's claim to Arabia has never gone unchallenged for any considerable length of time. He has had little trouble holding Yemen, whose fertile oases and wide stretches of grassland lie behind protecting desert barriers, but it is another story when we turn to the "Fertile Crescent". Here he has had competition from prehistoric times to the present day. We have already called attention to the thousand years of struggle between the Semites and Sumerians in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. And this was not just a struggle between Akkadians and Sumerians. In fact, both of these went down before a succession of

¹ *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xl (1923), 1 f.

invading tribes of Western Semites, but not before they had been subjected for more than a century by the hordes of Gutium from the northern mountains (about 2500 B.C.). And from the dawn of history to our own day the Elamites and their successors in the mountainous plateau to the east of the Tigris have compelled the Semite to defend his title to the rich alluvium. However, our immediate interest takes us to the attempts of the tribes of Asia Minor to push into the Semitic area.

According to a late chronicle the Hittites invaded Babylonia in the reign of Samsu-ditana, the last king of the First Dynasty of Babylon (c. 1900 B.C.). We possess no details of this event; but, since the invaders did not establish themselves in the land, we may infer that this was but one of many raids to which the Valley was subjected during the disturbed times of the opening of the second millennium. When the storm had subsided Babylonia was in the hands of another mountaineer people, the Kassites, who established the Third Dynasty of Babylon about 1760 B.C. Not far from the date of the Hittite incursion into Babylonia falls the collapse of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt, which was followed, if not occasioned (in part, at least), by the Hyksos invasion of the Nile Valley. The names of the Hyksos rulers of Egypt as preserved in the Greek sources do not permit any conclusions as to the nationality of these invaders. On the other hand, the contemporary scarabs have preserved names of Hyksos chieftains, some of which are clearly Semitic, while others are as certainly non-Semitic. The Egyptian records from the time of the expulsion of the foreigners (early Eighteenth Dynasty) studiously avoid mentioning by name any of the "Asiatics" or "barbarians" or "rulers of countries" who ruled Egypt "in ignorance of Re". It is, of course, impossible to draw any inferences as to the racial connexions of people so vaguely and contemptuously labelled. Nevertheless, scholars have gradually come to the belief that the beginnings of the Hyksos episode

in Egyptian history will ultimately be traced beyond Syria-Palestine to Asia Minor. But whatever the nationality of the Hyksos, they had brought the horse and battle chariot into Egypt and had made trained warriors out of the Egyptian militiamen.

With Thutmose III (after 1479 B.C.) commences the struggle for the recovery of Syria to Egypt. It was auspiciously begun by the capture of Megiddo, which brought the Pharaoh the richest spoil—"nine hundred and twenty-four chariots, including those of the kings of Kadesh and Megiddo, two thousand two hundred and thirty-eight horses, two hundred suits of armour, again including those of the same two kings, the gorgeous tent of the king of Kadesh, his magnificent household furniture, and among it his royal sceptre, a silver statue, perhaps of his god, and an ebony statue of himself, wrought with gold and lapis-lazuli, besides prodigious quantities of gold and silver."¹ It is evident from Thutmose's account that the leader of the opposition was the king of Kadesh, who, by the way, was not captured when Megiddo fell into the hands of the Pharaoh. Following the custom of his time, Thutmose does not give us the name of his adversary, but contents himself with referring to him as "that foe", or "that wretched foe of Kadesh". Seventeen vigorous campaigns brought Syria under the Egyptian yoke, where it remained, disturbed only by occasional ebullitions, for close to a century.

That the king of Kadesh, with whom Thutmose III fought at Megiddo, was a "Hittite" chieftain is rendered probable by the subsequent course of events. That Thutmose administered a decisive set-back to the rising power of the Hittite state is certain. But that the Hittite ever considered himself a vassal of the Pharaoh is doubtful. Thutmose speaks of receiving tribute from different Asiatic princes, including the chief of Kheta, but that this was anything

¹ Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, 227.

more than an exchange of gifts¹ between the Pharaoh and the Hittite king who was content to retire to Asia Minor and there bide his time, is rendered dubious by the Amarna correspondence and the Hittite archives from Boghaz-Keui. That it was the Hittites who were the main cause of the troubles of the Pharaohs Amenophis III and IV in Syria-Palestine, is attested by almost every letter which these monarchs received from their Asiatic vassals. For a time Egypt backed Mitanni, one of Kheta's rival native states, lying to the east of the Euphrates, and paid huge sums for the privilege of taking Mitannian princesses into their harems.² And when one of these rulers, inadvertently perhaps, places his own name before that of the Hittite addressee in the customary salutation with which ancient letters are begun, the Hittite king³ at once demands an explanation. Vassals are thus addressed, not brothers. Shubbiluliuma of Hatti put an end to Mitanni's career as an independent state, and subjugated Amurru and the other petty kingdoms of Syria. We need not enter into the details of the gradual consolidation of the Hittite state under Shubbiluliuma and his successors. There were many discordant elements in the population of Asia Minor which were not easily brought under the control of one central authority. Perhaps it was this lack of unity that saved Egypt from another Asiatic conquest during the decline at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and gave Harmhab and Seti I the chance to restore order in the Nile Valley.

¹ See the following notes.

² Twenty talents of gold seems to have been the regular price which the Pharaoh was compelled to pay for the establishing of "brotherhood" with the Asiatic kings. Ashur-uballit reminds Amenophis IV that, when his ancestor Ashur-nadin-ahe sent to Egypt, 20 talents of gold were given him. And Ashur-nadin-ahe was probably a contemporary of Thutmose III, who received the "tribute of the chief of Ashur (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, ii, § 446). The king of Hanigalbat also received 20 talents from Amenophis III (Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 16). The total weight of the gold of the gifts sent by Amenophis IV to Burraburiash amounted to 1,200 minas, that is twenty talents (Knudtzon, No. 14, Col. 2, 34).

³ Knudtzon, No. 42. There is some doubt as to the identity of the sender of this letter, but the evidence points to his having been a king of Hatti.

But the final passage-at-arms between Kheta and Egypt occurred in the reign of Ramses II. The first encounter took place at Kadesh on the Orontes (the capital of that "wretched foe of Kadesh" of Thutmose's day), in 1288, when the young Pharaoh showed more valour than military ability, and with difficulty succeeded in extricating himself from a trap into which he had fallen. However, it must be said in his favour that he realized the danger to Egypt of a strong Hittite state in Syria and kept pounding away at the enemy year after year, until after some fifteen years of campaigning he was able to settle his differences with Kheta by treaty with Hattushil, who had just succeeded his brother on the Hittite throne (1272 B.C.). Once more an era of brotherhood was ushered in, with diplomatic marriages, and possibly also with payments of liberal subsidies (bakhshish) by the Pharaoh. With the invasion of Asia Minor and Syria by the "Northerners", whom Ramses III turned back from the gates of Egypt in 1190 B.C., the disruption of the old Hittite state and the formation of other states by the newcomers, we are not concerned here, except to note the fact that we have to do with an invasion of Indo-Europeans, the first invasion of the Ægean world by these tribesmen, but the second of Asia Minor, as we shall try to show. We turn to the problem of the racial affinities of the "Hittites".

If an educated Englishman, whose knowledge of the history of Pennsylvania did not extend beyond the fact that it was an English colony founded by the Quaker, William Penn, should motor leisurely from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, taking time to acquaint himself with the names of the towns and villages through which he passed, as well as with the names of some of the inhabitants, especially rural, he could not fail to come to the conclusion that after the Quakers had established themselves in Philadelphia, there had come to the colony first, large numbers of Welshmen—Terrills, Phillippses, Davises—who took up the land immediately

around that city, founding such settlements as Bryn Mawr, Penllyn, Gwynedd, North Wales; then German colonists—Schmidts, Wagners, Lutzes—who settled beyond the Welsh, occupying the rolling country up to the Appalachians; and finally, sturdy Scotch-Irish—Kerrs, Nevins, and any number of “Macs”, who cleared the dense forests from the valleys lying between the parallel ridges of this mountain range. Students of classical antiquity are well aware of the significance of the geographical (and personal) names ending in *-nth* (*-nthos*, *Korinthos*, *Tiryns*, *Saminthos*, *Probalinthos*, etc.) and *-assos*, *-essos* (*-ettos*, *Sphettos*, *Gargettos*, *Sypalettos*, *Teumessos*, *Keressos*, etc.), which abound, not only in Greece and the Isles, but also in Asia Minor. With no other evidence than these names, one would be bound to conclude that the whole region was occupied, before the coming of the Greeks, by peoples speaking the same language or closely related dialects.

Personal names have been of the greatest importance in solving tribal and racial problems of Babylonian history. By means of them we are able to separate the Sumerian from the Akkadian communities, and to trace the movements of invading or immigrating groups, like the West-Semites, the Kassites, the Aramæans, the Hebrews, the Persians, and the Greeks. The study of the personal names in the Amarna Letters at once led scholars to the conclusion that there was a large non-Semitic element in the population of Syria-Palestine in the fourteenth century B.C. *Abdi-Hepa*, *Akia*, *Aki-Teshup*, *Akizzi*, *Artamania*, *Artatama*, *Artashshumara*, *Arzawia*, *Shutarna*, *Shutatna*, *Shuwardata*—to jump from the A's to the Sh's in the list—were evidently no descendants of Shem. A large number of Teshup-names—*Ari-Teshup*, *Umbi-Teshup*, *Turari-Teshup*, *Urhi-Teshup*, and others—found in the Nippur business documents from the Kassite period, were recognized by Bork as “Mitannian”.¹ That the Hittite-Mitannians were pushing into Babylonia

¹ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1906, 588 f.

as early as the First Dynasty, was shown by Ungnad from the personal names found in tablets from Dilbat.¹ The writer pointed out the close relationship of all of these names to those of the officers of the "vanquished chief of Kheta", as given in the inscriptions of Ramses III, as well as to those newly published in Winckler's preliminary report of his excavations at Boghaz-Keui.²

The evidence of the names of such Syrian chieftains as *Shuwardata*, *Yashdata*, *Artamania*, *Arzawia*, which he regarded as undoubtedly Aryan, and others like *Biridia*, *Biridashia*, *Namiawaza*, *Teuwatti*, *Shubanda*, *Shuturna*, about which there might be some doubt, coupled with the Hittite-Mitannian names in the Boghaz-Keui documents, taken together with the fact that the horse was introduced into Babylonia by the Kassites, and into Egypt by the Hyksos, in the former instance a little before 1900 B.C., in the latter a little after this date, led Eduard Meyer to attribute the general disruption of the civilization of the Near East about this time to incursions of Aryans from east of the Caspian. The Aryans have always been closely associated with the horse: witness the many personal names compounded with *asva*. A Kassite vocabulary equates the native word *shuriash* with the sun-god, Shamash. *Shuriash* should, therefore, be the Aryan *surya*.³ The names of the gods Mithra and Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya (*ilāni^{vi} mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il ilāni^{vi} u-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-il ilu in-dar ilāni^{vi} na-ša-ti-ia-an-na*, where the ending *-aššil* corresponds to the *-aššäl*, casus comitativus, of the Tocharish) are no longer to be explained away.

It was anything but a warm reception which Indo-European scholars gave to the view of Meyer and others that the names we have been discussing contain a large number of Indo-European elements. But the publication of the documents

¹ *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vi, 5, 8 f.

² *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxvi (1910), 96 f.

³ *Geschichte des Altertums*, i, §§ 455, 468.

from Boghaz-Keui, the archives of the kings of Hatti, written in cuneiform, and employing in part the Babylonian, but more often the native tongue (tongues), has enabled us, thanks to the frequent use of Babylonian ideograms in variant readings, to make considerable progress in the recovery of the language of Hatti. Soon after these documents became available Hrozný put forth the claim that he had demonstrated the Indo-European character of this language.¹ It is not necessary to go into the details of the discussion which followed the publication of this claim. At first the Indo-European scholars were extremely sceptical, but to-day there are few, I believe, who would deny that the pronoun, personal, demonstrative, and relative, many of the nominal and verbal affixes, and the syntax are Indo-European. Doubters are referred to the Hittite Law Code, where we have three and four texts for many of the paragraphs, and where Babylonian ideograms and even Babylonian phrases occur as variants to many Hittite readings. But this code as well as the chronicles which are becoming available for study bring into strong relief the fact that the vocabulary of the "Hittite" tongues, of which there seem to be at least half a dozen, is almost wholly non-Indo-European. Can a satisfactory explanation be found?

Egyptologists have long since recognized the necessity of assuming an invasion of Egypt by Semites in the pre-historic period to account for "the indelible impress" left by their language "upon the Old Nile Valley people". In the oldest Egyptian the pronoun, the nominal and verbal forms, and the syntax are strongly Semitic. But the vocabulary contains only a small percentage of Semitic words. Now, the earliest sculptures and paintings make it certain that the Nile dwellers of the historical period were not Semites. On the other hand, as we have seen, the relief of King Semerkhet and the ivory tablet of King Usephais show the Egyptians of the earliest dynasties in hostile contact with

¹ *Die Sprache der Hethiter*, 1917.

the Semitic bedouin tribes to the east of the Nile and in Syria. The only possible way of accounting for the Semitic elements in the grammar of the early Egyptian is by assuming the presence in the Nile Valley in prehistoric times of a group of Semites sufficiently influential or numerous to impose a Semitic tongue upon the Nile dwellers.

The conflict of tongues which results from such a situation may be studied in any community, ancient or modern, large or small, into which a group of foreigners brings its own tongue. Here, in the United States, we have many such conflicts. I have already introduced my English readers to eastern Pennsylvania. Here we have a typical example of the struggle between two languages. In the latter part of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, large bodies of Rhinelanders settled in eastern Pennsylvania. They brought with them their south German dialects. Many of their descendants still speak "Pennsylvania Dutch". But it is a strange mixture that one hears. "*Der superintendent hat die school gevisit und die pupils geexaminet. Only a few hen (haben) gepassed.*" Let me give a few examples from the glossary appended to Harbaugh's *Harfe*, a volume of Pennsylvania Dutch poems. *Affis* = office, *Bense* = pence, *beseid* = beside, *Bisness* = business, *gebürret* = barred, *geclos't* = closed, *gedscheest* = chased, *gedschumpt* = jumped, *gefist* = fixed, *gemixt* = mixed, *geseint* = signed. In this struggle which has been going on for more than two centuries, but which is now rapidly drawing to a close, the English vocabulary has gradually replaced the German. And here, as in ancient Egypt, the pronoun (personal and demonstrative), the verbal affixes, and the syntax were the last to give way.

The Kanesian and other "Hittite" tongues, and to these should perhaps be added the Kassite, which show an Indo-European structure but a non-Indo-European vocabulary are, therefore, not without parallel. It seems to the writer that we are justified in drawing a historical inference from

the facts presented : that bands of Indo-Europeans, probably Aryan,¹ came down upon the Semitic world by way of Asia Minor toward the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennium : that, like the Turks of a later date, they were able to make themselves rulers² in many parts of these regions : and that, again like the Turks, they were able to impose their language to some extent upon the heterogeneous population of Asia Minor, but were not successful in doing so in the Semitic area. Our earliest historical contact with the Indo-Europeans must, therefore, be put at about 2000 B.C.


¹ The Harri (or Hurri) of the Boghaz-Keui documents ?

² *Mariannu* = *marya* "lord" occurs frequently as a class-name in the Amarna Letters, the Boghaz-Keui documents and the Egyptian records.

The Transcription of Cuneiform Signs

By FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, membre de l'Institut de France

THE transcription of the Cuneiform signs presents a problem much more difficult than that of the transcription of the ordinary Semitic alphabetical scripts. The object of transcriptions of Cuneiform signs is not merely that of obtaining phonetic perfection, but it must also distinguish the signs employed for the same sounds. In the earlier stages of Assyriology Delitzsch and others adopted the system of accentuating the signs, and before a larger number of homophones were discovered this system sufficed, and has been adopted for the transcription of both Sumerian and Semitic texts. But at present there is complete anarchy among Assyriologists in transcribing Cuneiform texts.¹ A tablet of the Rassam Collection in the British Museum, which the writer recently copied through the kindness of Sir Ernest Wallis Budge, groups together the homophonic signs. On this tablet there are, for example, eight different

¹ The primitive system adopted by Delitzsch will be found in his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch, Umschriftsweisen*, pp. xv-xx, and his more fully developed system which takes more account of Sumerian homophones, in his *Sumerisches Glossar*, pp. xxv-xxvii. The editors of the *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* commissioned Professor Streck to draw up a more complete system of transcriptions for the use of that series, *Silben- und Ideogram-Liste*, Leipzig, 1914. This system differs radically from Delitzsch and is inadequate for the Sumerian homophones. It is not employed outside of that series. M. F. Thureau-Dangin, in his various editions of Sumerian texts, gradually developed a system which really accounts for the large number of Sumerian homophones, and grasps with the difficulties of the early and later Sumerian and Babylonian epigraphy. In fact, a system which does not account for the epigraphical problem cannot attain general acceptance. For example, the sign  of the late Assyrian texts represents two distinct Sumerian and Babylonian signs, *gir*, *REC.* 224, and *ug*, *REC.* 182. Thureau-Dangin, himself, never compiled a list of his own system, but it is fairly well reproduced by Genouillac in his "Table des Accents Diacritiques", *Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello*, tome ii, plates 79-80, and by Deimel, "Transcriptionis Modi," *Pantheon Babylonicum*, at end, pp. 1-35. Langdon's system at the end of his *Sumerian Grammar*, pp. 261-303, is an enlargement of the same method.—[Note of the Editor.]

signs for the phonetic syllable *eš*, nine for *še*, eleven for *gir*, and eighteen for *ge*! It is not possible to devise eleven and eighteen different accents for these values. The writer, therefore, proposes to introduce the method of *numbering* the signs with *inferior* exponents, $e\check{s}_1$, $e\check{s}_2$, $e\check{s}_3$; ge_1 , ge_2 , ge_3 , etc., following a suggestion made by Dr. A. Walther, *ZA.* xxix, 147. [The idea was taken from Weissbach.]

For the purpose of illustrating this proposed method I reproduce here a transcription of a few lines of a Sumerian liturgy, published in my *Tablettes d'Uruk*, No. 56, and edited by Langdon, *AJSL.* xxxix, 286-7. Langdon's transcription would appear in my proposed system as follows:—

1. [u_3 -li-li] en-zu umun sa_2 -mar-mar mi-sir₃-am₂¹ en-zu
umun sa_2 -mar-mar²
2. [^aMu-ul-lil] umun u_3 -li-li
3. . . . umun dingir-gal-e
4. An . . . dim₄-me-ir gal-gal-e-ne umun gu-la
5. elim-ma umun Unug^{ki}-ga
6. $e\check{s}_2$ E₂-an-na-ta E₂-ge₄-par-imin-ki

¹ This expression occurs in astrological texts for *ina mûši napâhu*, or the heliacal rising of a constellation . . .

² For this title of the series ^a*Babbar-gim e₃-ta*, v. *RA.* xvii, 92, l. 6.

Hymns to Pap-due-garra

By T. G. PINCHES

(PLATES VI-IX)

AS explained in the note on p. 74, the reading of this name is uncertain, especially with regard to the second element, *due*, the other transcriptions being *ul-e* (the ordinary values of the two characters of which it is composed) and *rue*. I have chosen the transcription in the title because it seems to be the most probable and because some sort of transcription was a necessity. Other possible transcriptions, due to what seem to be variants, will be found on the page which I have quoted.

A point of considerable interest in this text is the fact that the series to which it belongs has a title, and this title informs us that the hymns which it contains were of three classes. The first is called *paru^m*, which I have translated "panegyric", the second *sir-tanitti^m* "noble song", or the like, and the third *sir* simply "song". That these three kinds of composition differed in some way from each other there can be no doubt, but wherein the difference lay is uncertain, and could only be settled if the tablet were complete, which, unfortunately, is far from being the case.

We all know the word *šir*—it is consecrated in our minds in the title of Solomon's charming love-song—*Šir hashshirim asher li-Shlomoh*, and I am inclined to think that both the Assyro-Babylonian *šir* and its Hebrew homophone come from the Sumerian root which the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia have revealed to us. It is most suitably expressed by the character *ezen* or *izin*, the common character for festival, at which, naturally, all kinds of songs and chants of a religious nature were used. Another form of *šir* seems to have been *šur*, in which the vowel is changed. The character *šar*, which is also translated by *zamāru* "to sing", is glossed as *mu*, and does not in all probability represent a third variant of the root. The single instance of *šar* translated as *zamāru*

“to sing” is probably due to the fact that *šar* could also be pronounced as *šer* or *šir*, and thus became a homophone of the true form of the word.

The following is the title of the inscription :—

Išten : Paru^m ana Pap-due-garra ;

Šina : Šir-tanitti^m ana Pap-due-garra ;

Šalšet : Šir Pap-due-garra.

Translation :

I. A song of praise to Pap-due-garra ;

II. A noble song to Pap-due-garra ;

III. A song of Pap-due-garra.

The following are the opening lines of this inscription, as far as they are complete :—

Chief and firstborn of Enlil, let us then sing thy power.

Pap-due-garra, the silent one, who shaketh the welkin—

The warrior—may he make the offerings and libations plentiful.

I cannot say that I am by any means satisfied with my rendering of this third line, but if I am not able to improve it, more active brains than mine will, later, successfully accomplish the task.

The remaining lines of the column, as far as preserved, are imperfect—all I will say concerning them is, that they recall remotely some of the phrases in the poetical composition concerning Ninrag (En-urta, with whom Pap-due-garra was identified) translated by Hrozný and Geller.

In column II the composition takes more the form of an address to the god :—

Thou has favoured (*tamgur*) the righteous one, and they all are favoured ;

Thou hast expanded the straitened, and they all breathe freely.

Weighty is thy counsel—brilliant are thy words.

Weighty is thy worship upon earth—in the heavens it is established.

Here come the ends only of a few lines, which I render in the text as far as their defective nature will allow. As for the third column, as that is even more unsatisfactory than the second, any attempt to translate it is relegated to the inter-linear rendering (p. 69).

The fourth column speaks of the enemies of the land, whom the god destroyed, and there is a reference to lions and lusty shepherds. The god was the binder of the powerful, the lord of the lofty, who pierced the corslet (*šir'ām*) of the enemy.

Here again comes a division-line, but the text which follows is imperfect, and therefore unsatisfactory. The final lines of this section speak of "the disturbing violent wind" (*ašamšutu*), and "the bow of the whole heavens", in which "bow" appears as *tilpan*, thus settling definitely the reading of that much-teased word.

At this point comes a division line, and the subject seems to change. The following is an attempted translation of the text here :—

The *narpinati*-serpent, the brilliant shining . . .

Gaping of mouth, wide-open of eyes ;

The high one of the pasture, gatherer of the harvest,

Shaper of the year, spreader of its glory.

The scythe of uprisings, to sever conflict,

He who cutteth off resistance, to declare the judgment of battle.

The thunderbolt destroying the forest of Gibil,

The powerful one, who is within it, thou destroyest.

The smelting of iron, which the earth containeth, in the shaft of the (nether) chambers—

May his glory be doubly increased.

Here another division-line announces again a change of subject :—

The fire of the furnace, which hath glowed mightily, hath devoured—

Like wool it hath blazed with a puff of wind.

Should the crusher of the ores not prosper, (it is)

The counsel of Pap-due-garra, who poureth them out in
his due measure.

The raging lion is the arrest of his onrush.

Here the fifth column comes to an end, and we have the mutilated sixth column on the left of it. The first section, which is somewhat long, has the ends of lines only, the principal phrase being a reference to "Keš the holy"—possibly the city from which this inscription came. The text then continues :—

And as my eye considered, my arm grew cold—

he was sitting (as) her companion.

There sitteth the king who enlighteneth the night.

Anew the house of god delight hath learned.

Let him wear the divine garment, the journeys let him make.

Let him direct the house of the god, let him make the
purifications.

Let him cause a cloister to be made for Kaki—

Let him cause favour to be made for Maḥ.

Let him create the edifice of the mighty house of the god—

Let him construct a spacious, massive dwelling.

Let the house's head be high, deep its foundations—

May it hold the earth.

(At) Keš may the house's head be high, deep its foundations—

May it hold the earth.

High is its tower, may it reach the heavens—

Deep is its foundations—may it hold the earth.

Here, between two ruled lines, is a special invocation to
Pap-due-garra with regard to this edifice.

Pap-due-garra, thou retest directing and made glorious.

And then comes still another line :—

Complete and glorious may he raise (it).

The end of the poem is indicated by the colophon, which
reads as follows :—

A sublime hymn to Pap-due-garra.

(This is apparently a description of the composition which precedes.)

- I. The panegyric.
II. The sublime hymn
to Pap-due-garra.
III. A song of Pap-due-garra.

These lines practically repeat the title, and it is noteworthy that here, too, the preposition "to" is omitted in the last line—it is a song "of" and not, apparently, "to," Pap-due-garra.

TEXT OF THE SONGS IN PRAISE OF PAP-DUE-GARRA

Col. I

1. *Išten pa-ru-u^m a-na^d. Pap-du-e-gar-ra*
I. A song of praise to Pap-due-garra.
2. *Šina šir-ta-ni-it-ti^m a-na^d. Pap-du-e-gar-ra*
II. A noble song to Pap-due-garra.
3. *Šalšet šir^d. Pap-du-e-gar-ra*
III. A song of Pap-due-garra.

4. *A-ša-ri-id bu-ku-ur^d. En-lil da-na-an-ka*
5. *inu-za-am-me-e-ir*
Chief (and) firstborn of Enlil, thy power
let us then sing.
6. *a. Pap-du-e-gar-ra hi-ša-u mu-ta-ar-ri-ir*
7. *da-aš-ni*
Pap-due-garra, the silent one, who shaketh
the welkin.
8. *Qar-du-u^m kar-ši-e u na-ki-i li-ih-hi-i-ka (?)*
The warrior—may he make the sacrifices and libations
plentiful.
9. *Ra-ki-zu-u^m hu-ul-li ir-bi-e*
He who binds the evil grew up (?)
10. *a-bu-bi-i^m ha-aš (?)*
of the flood
11. *Mu-uš-te-ed gi-eš-lu-uh-ti^m*

12. *tu-pa* (?)
 Uniter (?) of the growing tree (?)
 13. *Mu-uš-ta-ak-ki-in*
 14. *mu-ša*
 Establisher (?) of
 the exit (?)
 15. *Mu-uš-ta-ak-ki-it* (?)
 16. *gi-*
 Silencer (?) of
 17. . . . *nar* (?) *šu* (?)

Col. II

1. *Ta-am-gu-ur-ma šar-ra-a^m ū ka-lu-šu-nu*
 2. *im-ta-ag-ru*
 Thou hast favoured a righteous one, and they all
 are favoured.
 3. *Ta-ab-bi-ši-ma az-zu ū ka-lu-šu-nu*
 4. *it-ta-bi-i-ša^m*
 Thou hast expanded the straitened, and they all
 breathe freely.
 5. *Ka-ab-ta-at-ma mi-il-ka-at-ka*
 6. *i-za-hu-hu ri-ig-mi-iš-ka¹*
 Weighty is thy counsel,
 brilliant are thy words.
 7. *Ka-ab-ta-at pu-ul-ha-at-ka ga-ag-ga-ra-a^m*
 8. . . . *ša* (?) *ma-i e-im-di-it*
 Weighty is thy worship upon earth,
 [in] the heavens (?) it is established.
 9. *ma-li-ku-ut*
 10. *i-ta^a En-lil*
 the principality of
 beside (?) Enlil.
 11. *ta-ak-ti na-ar-bi-a-a^m*
 high station.

(Here follow the remains of two lines.)

¹ Read *rigmiška*. The scribe was apparently possessed by the desire to write *rigmišku* "his words", and wrote *rigmiška*, which he intended, perhaps, to correct.

Col. III

1. *I-na ta-am-li-it*
2. *a-nu^m u^d. Iš(?)*-
 In the fulness of
 Anu and Iš(?)[tar]
3. *Ib-la-ak-ka ri-ig(?)*-
4. *te-e-ir*
 The bond of (thy) voi[ce]
 turn thou
5. *Ul-lu-u^m i-na ri-*
6.
 Favourable in
7. *Ta-ak-ma-a^m un-*
8. *a. En-ki a. Ša-*
 Thou hast enclosed
 the deities Êa (and) Ša -
9. *At-ta-a-ma*
 Thou then
-

Col. IV (Reverse)

1 and 2. Traces only of the first character of line 1.

3. *Al-ti-i-la-*
 Complete
4. *šir-ta-ni-it-ti^m [a-na a. Pap-due-gar-ra]*
 a noble song [to Pap-due-garra].
5. *I-la-a^m šu-pa-a-a^m*
6. *na-ki-ri-i^m ta-*
 Light-darting god
 enemies thou [destroyest ?]
7. *a. Pap-du-e-gar-ra šu-p[a.]*
8. *ša-i-id na-ki-ri-i^m*
 Pap-due-garra, light-dart[ing]
 encloser of the enemy
9. *Ni-e-ši-i^m da-an-na-a^m*

10. *ri-e da-an-zu-ti^m mu-*
 Lions (which) are strong
 lusty shepherds who
11. *E-zi-il mu-uš-ta-ar*
12. *bi-e-el e-li-ti^m*
 Binder of the powerful
 lord of the high
13. *ši-ir-a-an na-ki-ri mu-*
 The corslet of the enemy [thou piercest ?].
-
14. *Ša i-na za-ar-ti^m i-za-ak-*
15. *i-ba-šu-u ma-a-la-ak*
 Who in hatred (?) calleth (??)
 exists (exist) a road (?) of
16. *Ik-ki-li-i^m me-e-šu al-li*
17. *u-ša-ad-ba-ak-šu im-ta-*
 Its dark waters
 he causeth it to flow, he

Col. V

(Traces of one line, and space for a second, are to be seen at the beginning.)

3. *E-ḥap-pi a(?)*-
4. *ka-ab-ta-a[t(?)]*
5. *me-e-ḥi m[ar ?]*-
 Come, break (?)
 thou art honoured
 de[vastating] storms
6. *Šar-ra-am ma-ti^m la*
7. *ši-e-zu u-um-ma-ru(?)*
 The king of the un[submissive] land
 his exit he will see
8. *A-ša-am-šu-tu^m zu-u-ut-tu^m*
9. *bu-za-at*
 The violent wind disturbing
 the totality (?) of
10. *Ti-il-pa-an gi-im-ri-i^m ša-mi-e*
 The bow of the whole heavens

11. *Muš-nar-pi-na-ti za-ri-ru-u^m ru-a-at*
 12. *ši-il-ta-aḫ-hu-ut pi-i^m mu-pi-it-tu-u i-n[a-ti^m]*
 The *narpinati*-serpent, the brilliant shining
 gaping of mouth, wide-open of eyes.
13. *Ša-mu-u-u^m ša ri-i-ti^m mu-uz-zi-ba-at*
 14. *we-el-di-i^m ni-pi-iš ša-at-ti^m mu-ta-bi-ku*
 15. *ḫu-ur-ba-ši-i^m*
 The high one of the pasture, gatherer of
 the harvest, shaper of the year, spreader
 of (its) glory.
16. *Ša-aš-ša-ar tu-uq-ma-ti^m pa-ta-ar ga-ab-li*
 17. *e-ši-id tu-gu-um-ti^m a-ma-an di-e-en*
 18. *ta-am-ḫa-ri-i-i^m*
 The scythe of uprisings to sever conflict,
 he who cuts resistance, to declare the judg-
 ment of battle.
19. *Ku-ul-pa-šum ša-mi-du ki-iš-ti^m a. Bil-gi*
 20. *e-iz-zu-u^m ša ga-ba-al-šu ni-e-ri-it*
 The thunderbolt (?) destroying the forest of Gibil,
 the powerful one, which is within it, thou
 destroyest.
21. *Mi-gi-it pa-ar-zi-il-li-i^m ša ga-ag-ga-ra*
 22. *i-ra-zu na-ap-ra-as pa-ra-ak -ki-i^m*
 23. *ta-ni-it-ta-šu lu-uš-ta-aš-ni*
 The smelting of iron, which the earth
 containeth, the shaft of the (nether) chambers,
 may his glory be doubly
 increased.
-
24. *I-ša-at a-pi-i^m ša da-na-ta-a^m i-pi-e-zu*
 25. *i-ku-lu gi-iz-zi-iš i-pi u-ri-ti ša-a-ri*
 The fire of the furnace, which has glowed mightily,
 it hath devoured, like wool it has blazed with
 a puff of wind.
26. *Ka-bi-is e-ig-ru-ti^m la šu-šu-ru-u*
 27. *mi-li-ik-ti^m a. Pap-du-e-gar-ra ta-bi-ik-šu-nu*

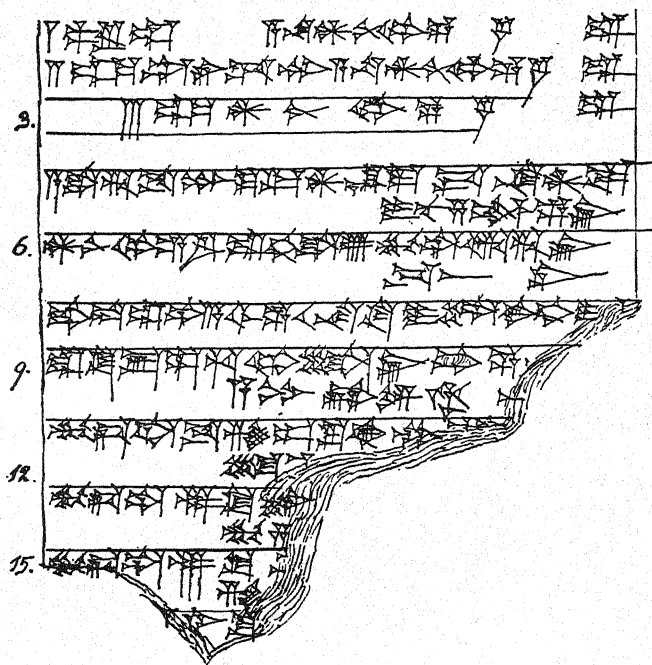
28. *ša-aš-ka-al-lu-uš-šu*
Should the crusher of the ores not prosper,
the counsel of Pap-due-garra poureth them out
in his due measure.
29. *Ni-e-šu^m na-ad-ru-u^m ni-ḫi-it a-la-ak-ti^m*
The raging lion the arrest of (his) onrush.
(End of the fifth column.)

Col. VI

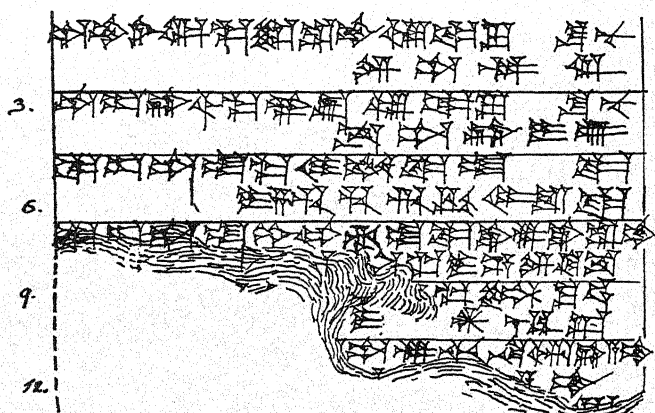
1 and 2. At the end of the latter part of one character
(*im*) only.

3. *šar-ru-t[u]*
. kingdom.
4. *ša aš-ta-am*
. which I seek (?).
5. *šu-um*
.
6. *ki-e-eš el-li*
. of Kêš the holy.
7. *-ta-a^m il-na-šu^m*
. give thou him.
8. *-ti^m u-ra-ša-a^m*
. he makes abundant.
9. *-i^m bi-ni-a-a^m*
. create thou.
10. *su-da-lu-u-ma di-na-a^m*
. raise up and judge.
11. *ta-ša-na-a^m e-ik-ra-a^m*
. thou doublest in value.
12. *i-na ga-ti-šu i-ta-ar-ar-a^m*
. in his hand he bringeth.
13. *na-šu ša-du-u-ma bi-li ra-ag-gi*
. raise the mountain and bring evil.
-
14. *u i-ni im-li-ik i-di-a ku-uš-ši-a*
. and my eye considered, my arm grew cold.
15. *ta-ši-ib wa-ši-ib-ša*
. she sat on her seat.

Column I.



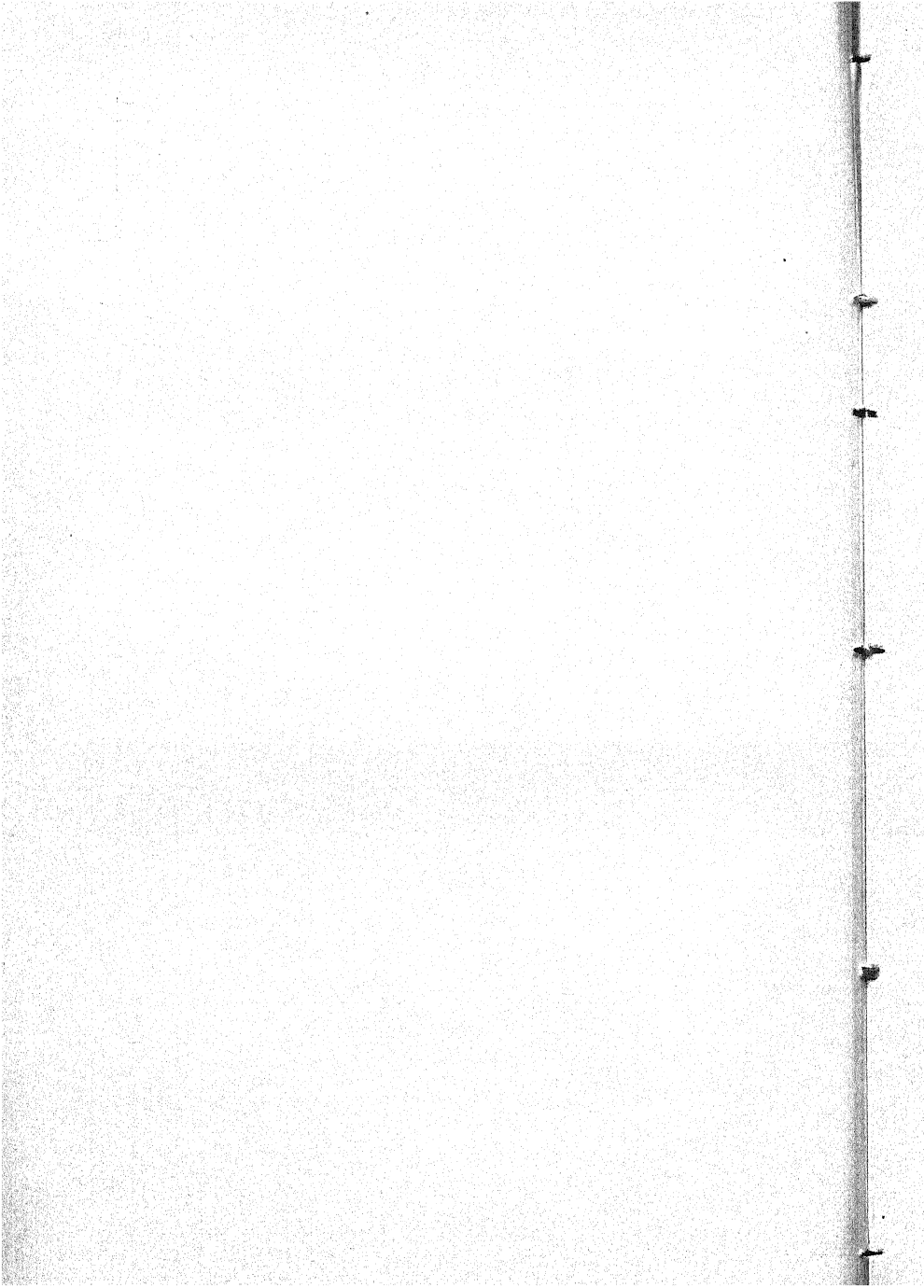
Column II.



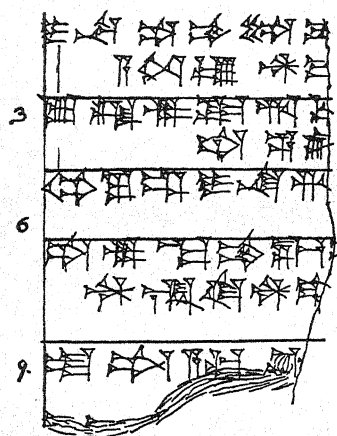
Hymns to 𐎶𐎵𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎫𐎶

Note to Col. II, line 10.—Between 𐎶 and 𐎵 insert 𐎶𐎵, ta.

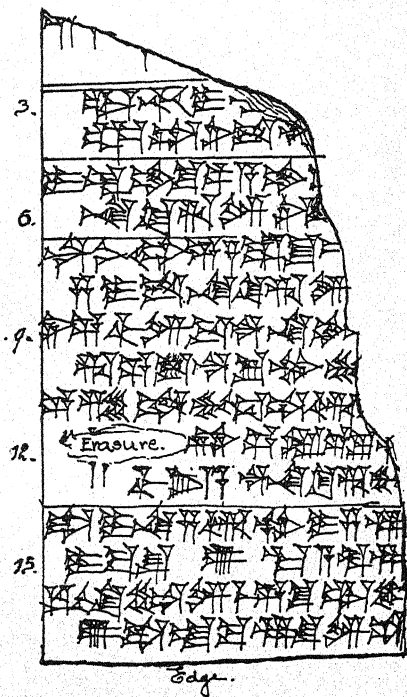
[To face p. 72.]



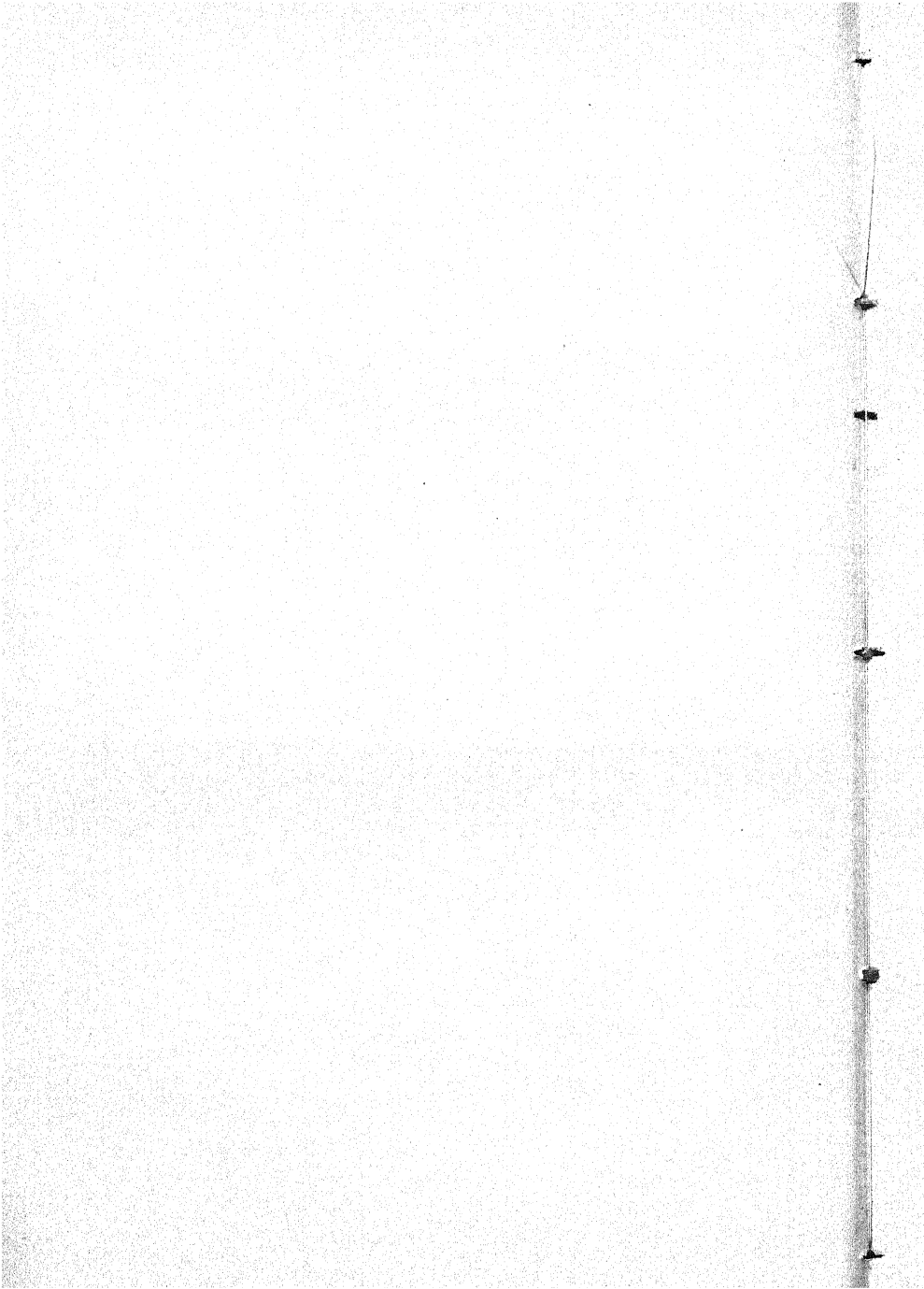
Obverse, Col. III.



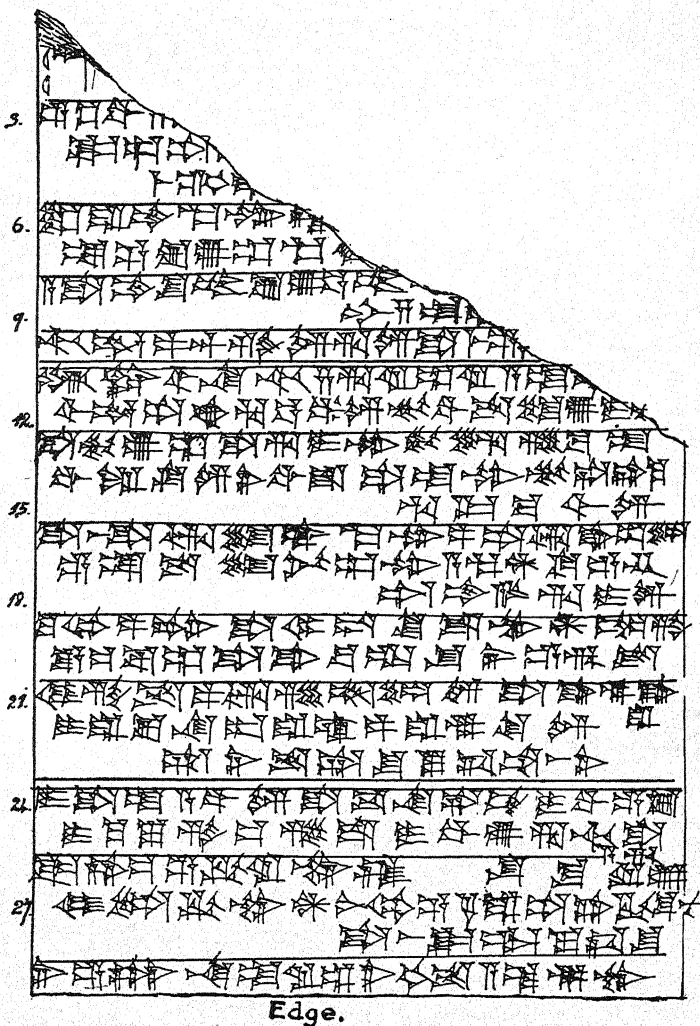
Reverse, Col. I (Col. IV).





Hymns to 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.

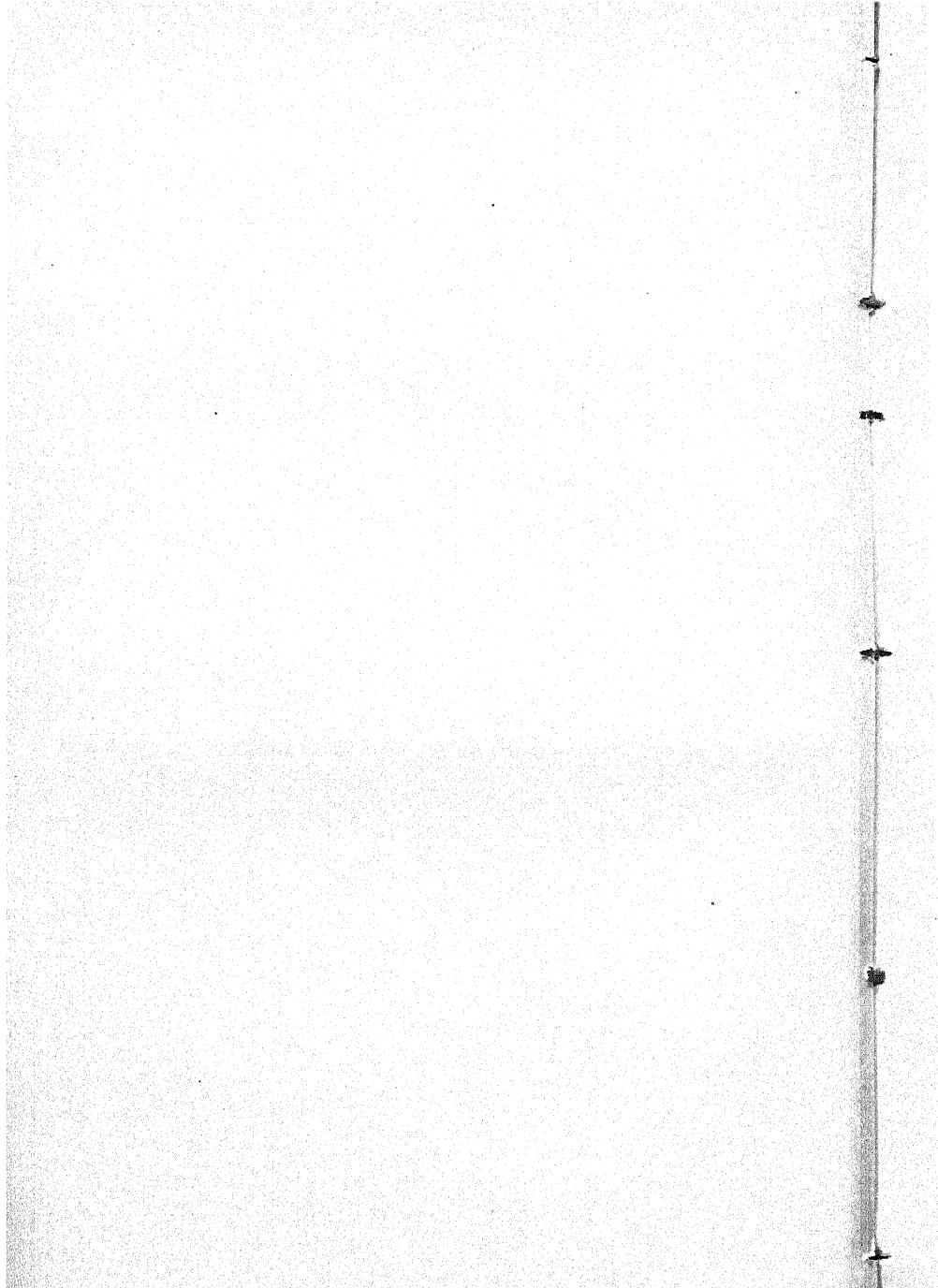


Reverse, Col. II (Col. V).

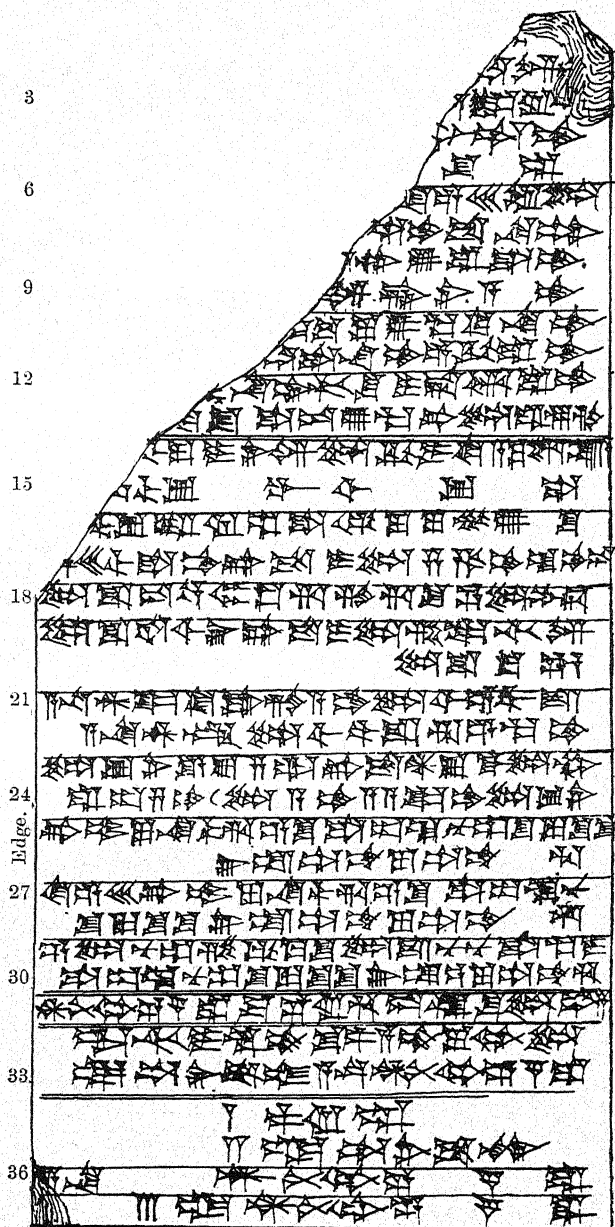


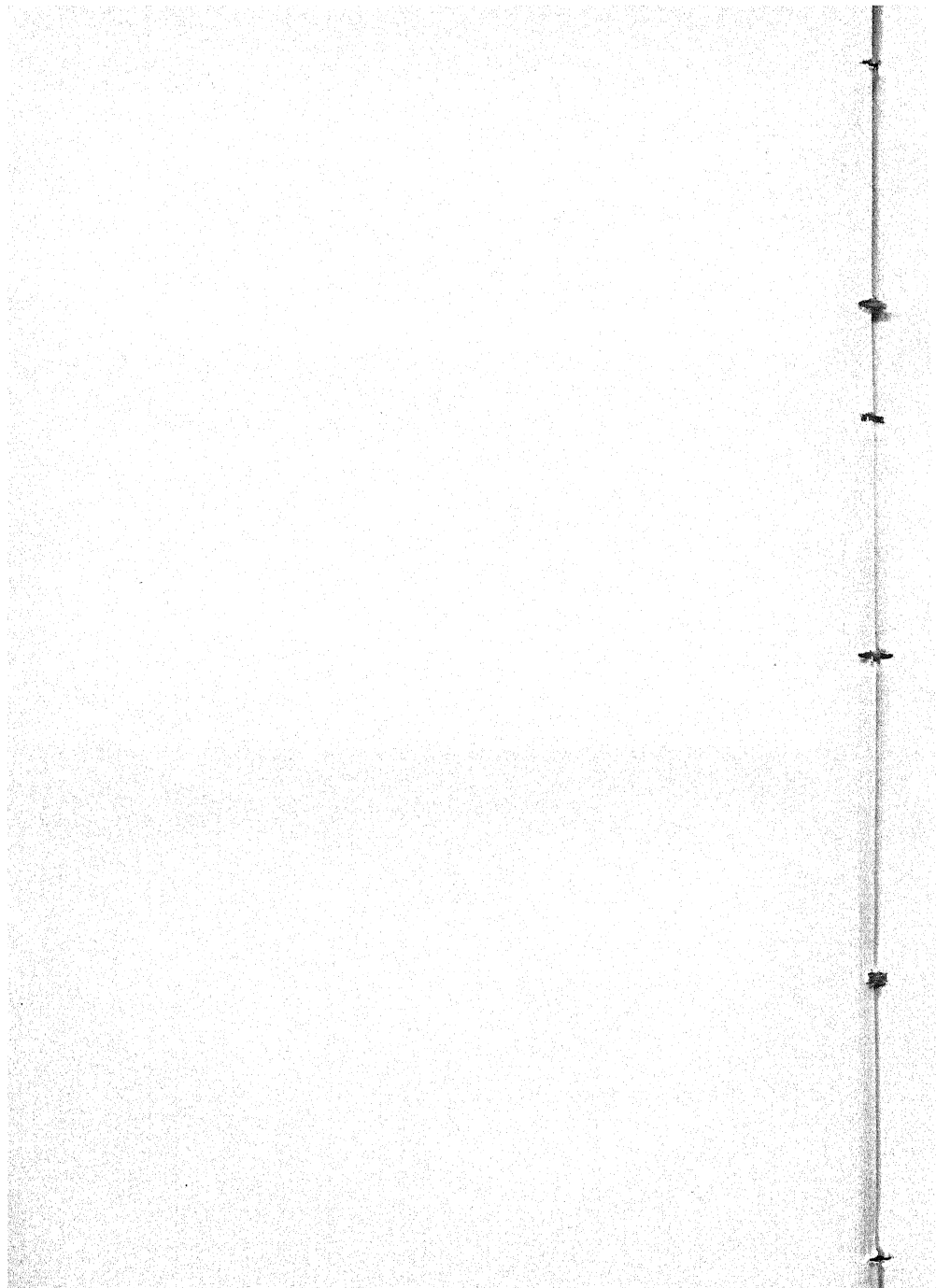
Hymns to ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠.

Note to line 11.—When I first copied the tablet, the third character of this line seemed to be , but a further examination suggested , hence the transcription in the text.



Reverse, Col. III (Col. VI).





16. *Wa-ši-ib šar-ru-u^m ša ul-lu-lu mu-u-šu*
(There) sits the king who enlighteneth the night.
17. *E-eš-ši-ša-a^m bi-it i-li za-ḥa-a^m la-am-du*
Anew the house of god delight hath learned.
18. *Li-iš-du-ud mi-is-ri gi-ri-di-e li-pu-uš*
Let him wear the divine garment, the journeys let him
make.
19. *Li-iš-te-ši-ir bi-it i-li zi-ka-ti-i^m*
20. *li-iš-ku-un*
May he direct the house of the god, the purifications
may he make.
21. *A-na^a. Ka-ki ga-gi-a-a^m li-ši-e-pi-iš*
22. *a-na^a. Maḥ li-ši-pi-iš ri-e-ma-a^m*
For Kaki let him cause a cloister to be made,
for Maḥ let him cause to be made favour.
23. *Li-ib-ni-e zu-za-al bi-it ili zu-gal-li-ti^m*
24. *ra-ab-za-a^m li-a-a^m a-a-ka-a^m li-ib-ni*
Let him create the edifice of the mighty house of god,
a spacious, massive dwelling may he construct.
25. *Bi-tu^m lu-na-ši ri-e-šu ša-ap-la-nu-u^m šu-ur-šu-šu*
26. *er-ši-ta-a^m lu-ta-am-ḥu*
May the house's head be high, deep its foundation,
may it hold the earth.
27. *Ki-e-eš bi-tu^m lu-na-ši ri-e-šu ša-ap-la-nu*
28. *šu-ur-šu-šu er-ši-ta-a^m lu-ta-am-ḥu*
(At) Kēš may the house's head be high, deep
its foundation, may it hold the earth.
29. *E-li-nu-u^m zi-ik-ku-šu li-iš-nu-nu ša-ma-i*
30. *ša-ap-la-nu-u^m šu-ur-šu-šu er-ši-ta^m lu-ta-am-ḥu.*
High is its tower, may it reach the heavens,
deep is its foundation, may it hold the earth.
-
31. *^a. Pap-du-e-gar-ra ba-e-šub paq-du u šu-li-il*
Pap-due-garra, thou restest¹ directing and made
glorious.

¹ Or "thou restest there".

also indebted to them for the thing itself), for שִׁיר *shir* "song" is a well-known word in Hebrew, which has not only a feminine form, *shirah*, but also a verbal root. Among the Akkadian renderings of *sir* are *tamû* "to speak", "intone", *zamāru* "to sing", etc. An uncommon form of this last appears in *i-nuzammēr* "let us sing" in line 5.¹

Hišau, in line 6, might be read *hišaša^m*, but this seems unlikely, as the context requires the nominative. The Heb. הָשָׁה *hāshāh* suggests some such rendering as "the silent one", which may be accepted provisionally, notwithstanding that the next word, *mutarrir* "maker to tremble of", "shaker of", suggests rather a thunderer than the very reverse. Besides "welkin", *dašnu*, the last word of the line, may mean several other things—"the ground", "the world", "the universe", etc., and the god's silence (if that be the right rendering) may have nothing to do with the agitation which he was believed to cause.

Line 8. *Karšē* seems to be a plural, and, if so, the nominative singular would be *karšu*, probably the same word as that rendered by Peiser as "bread" and "food-offering". The latter would be a good rendering if *nakî*, which almost immediately follows, be the plural of *naqû*, and that, again, for *nigû* (*neqû*) "offering", "libation". *Karšu*, however, possibly means "carcass", as is shown in a list of flesh-offerings, where *širu pî karšu* "the mouth of the *karšu*" (probably "the rump") is mentioned. The last word of the line, which is a verb, is doubtful. My first reading of this was *lihḫika*, but *lihḫi-ma* afterwards seemed to be more probable. The most likely root for this form is *naḫû* or *neḫû*, with the meaning of "to make plentiful", or the like. With this the Heb. *nāḫāh* would best accord, but perhaps the

Arab. نَحَعَ would furnish the best root for comparison, the more especially as it refers to the slaughter of sheep.

¹ For other special liturgical terms in which *šir* is the first element, see Professor Stephen Langdon's notes in his *Sumerian Grammatical Texts* (Pennsylvania University Museum Publications, vol. xii, No. 1), pp. 10-12 (text on pl. xii).

Line 9. *Rakizu*^m is naturally for *rakisū*^m, from *rakāsu* "to bind". For *hulli* two meanings are possible, the first being from the Sumerian *hula* "evil", and the other a transcription (according to the translators of the Tel-al-Amarna tablets) of the Canaanite *ḥy*, 'ol, for *ghol*. As the date of this tablet is probably earlier than that of the celebrated collection from Egypt, the Sumerian etymology, and the rendering "binder of evil", is the more likely.

Line 10. Whether it be the great flood, or "flood" in general, which is referred to here is doubtful. Were the line more perfect, a suggestion might be made—there is doubt as to the reading of *irbē*, and also as to the way in which *haš-* . . . should be completed.

Line 11. *Muštēd* I conjecture to be the construct case of the active participle *Sutapul* from the root *ēdu*, from which comes the numeral *ēdu* "one". It is only by finding the correct rendering of *gešluḫti*^m that this can be verified, but better still would be the completion of the entire line, and, best of all, the whole hymn. The syllable *geš* implies that the word indicates a bush or a tree.

Muštakin in line 13 is the participle, const. case, of the form *Pitālu* of *šakānu* "to make", "set", "place". It is possible that *muštakkīt* in line 15 shows the same form, in which case the infinitive *Qal* would be *šakātu* "to be silent".

All these imperfect lines, however, make true renderings of such isolated words impossible.

Col. II

With column II we get something more satisfactory, though the true force of every word may sometimes be in doubt. This is apparently the end of a section, or, possibly, of the first song—the eulogy or panegyric.

Tamgur and *imtagru* in lines 1 and 2 are from the root *magāru* "to be favourably disposed". The third and fourth lines have a parallel phrase to that of the first and second. The root of *tabbiši* and *iṭtabša*^m does not occur in the

dictionaries, and I conjecture, therefore, that these spellings are for *tappiši* and *ittapīša^m*, and that the infinitive is *napāšu* "to expand". This suggests for *uzzu* (nom. for acc.) the meaning of "straitened", or the like.

The third and final line of the section is also parallel, but the first word is a different tense from that contained in the others, namely, the permansive. This is doubtless due to the fact that the phrase is set in the passive, and not in the active voice.

After the division-line the same kind of phrase continues, suggesting that this portion is a continuation of the same hymn. Not only, however, is the first word in the permansive, but the last one also—*kabtat* and *êmdit* are both feminine, agreeing with the noun *pulḫat*, construct form of *puluḫthu*. Noteworthy is the form *gaggara^m* (for *gaqqara^m*), where the accusative seems to be used with a prepositional force. I conjecture that line 8 should be completed *ina šamai êmdit* "it is set in the heavens", but *šamai* is an unusual, and therefore a doubtful, form—it may, on the other hand, be an archaism, and correct.

The remaining lines of this column are too imperfect for any connected sense to be made out.

Col. III

All the lines here are incomplete, and give no satisfactory sense. In line 1 *tamlit(h)* is a noun in the const. state from *malû* "to fill". In the second line the absence of the determinative prefix before *anu*, the name of the god of the heavens, is probably due to the fact that, when written ideographically, with 𒀭, the d.p. is naturally omitted.

Line 4 gives the unusual word *iblakka*, in which two explanations of the form are possible—it may be derived from the Sumerian, in which the ending *kka* may be an expansion of the Sumerian lengthening *ka*, or a Semitic noun *iblû* in the accusative, with the possessive pronoun of the 2nd pers. sing. The meaning of the noun is doubtful, and the incomplete

word which follows furnishes no real clue—it may be completed *rigmi*, *riksi*, and in other ways. It seems unlikely that *iblakka* has any connexion with *iblu* “boundary”, otherwise “the limit of”, or some such rendering, might be suggested. The word *illu*^m in line 5 I have identified with the *illu* 3 of Muss-Arnolt, but perhaps one of the others is preferable. In line 7 I have regarded *takma*^m as being a verbal form, namely the 2nd pers. sing. of the Qal imperfect of *kamû*.

Col. IV

The third and fourth lines of col. IV show that the song preceding ended with the second line. Apparently it is the second of the two compositions referred to at the beginning of col. I, and was “complete” (*al-tīla*) when the tablet was in a perfect condition.

The composition which follows this short colophon is apparently the *šir*, or “song” pure and simple, without any qualifying adjective. In the first line (line 5 of the column) the first words are *īla*^m *šupā*^m, which I have translated “light-darting god”. If this be correct, the forms are accusative. If, however, it be the dual, the words might be rendered “the two-fold god illuminator”. What this would mean is doubtful, but possibly it would identify Pap-due-garra with the moon, which was regarded as having a twofold personality owing to its eastern and western phases. Whether this would have any connexion with the “bifrons” of the cylinder-seals, so often referred to by Dr. Hayes Ward, is uncertain, but not impossible. In all probability the first half of line 7 has to be completed (in part) as line 5: *Pap-due-garra šupā*^m, which would be against a dual rendering in that line.

Rie-danzuti^m in line 9 suggests a compound word like *šir-tamitti*^m in line 2, col. I. “Lusty” as the meaning of the second component is a conjecture. How ought the line to be completed?

In line 11 I suggest the completion of the second word as.

muštar-hūti. *Êzīl* is apparently the participle (const. case) of *êzēlu*, and this, if for *êṣēlu*, may have some connexion with the Arab. وصل “to unite”.

As 𐤀 𐤁 *a-an*, may be pronounced as *am*, this is possibly the reading here, especially as the Assyrian bilingual lists spell the word *sir-ya-am*. Nevertheless, the Heb. form שִׁירִין *shirian* “corslet”, shows that the spelling with *n* has a certain amount of authority. The closed syllable *šir* implies a light breathing here, supplying the place of the *y* in other texts. The transcription of the word with the syllables united should therefore be either *šir'an* or *šir'am*. This line concludes the first section of the “noble hymn” to Pap-due-garra.

Line 14. *Zārti^m*. Such would be the transcription if the root be weak of the second radical without weak aspirate, and in this case it would be the fem. form of *zāru*, with the same meaning. Other possible transcriptions are *za'arti^m*, *ṣārti^m*, and *ṣa'arti^m*. *Mālak* in line 15 is probably from *alāku* “to go”.

Line 16. *ikkili^m* is probably (notwithstanding the single *l*) the genitive or the plural of the *ikkillu* of Muss-Arnolt, p. 35 *b*, where it is explained as “sadness, lamentation; originally darkness [Trauer, Betrübtheit, Wehklage, eigentlich Finsterniss]”. The imperfection of the text here prevents us from determining whether *mê-šu* is to be translated “his waters” or “its waters”. That “waters” is probably the right translation seems to be indicated by the verb *uṣadbaḥ-šu* in line 17.

Col. V

Eḥappi in line 3 is a difficult expression, especially in the absence of the context. It is not unlikely, however, that we have to read *ê ḥappi*, the cohortative particle with the imperative *paēl*—not found elsewhere, it is true, for the verb *hepû*, but expectable.

Line 5. What is the division of the words here? I have decided for *mēhi ma[rṣūti]*, “devastating hurricanes”, or the

like, but the context, when found, will probably prove that this is wrong.

Line 6. As *šarra*^m is in the accusative, it is clear that "the king of the hostile land" was represented as subject to punishment owing to that hostility. If this interpretation be correct, the partial completion would probably be *šarra*^m *māti*^m *lā* [*kaništi*^m]. It is not improbable, that *šēzu* (for *šēt-šu*) means "his expulsion". The traces after *u-um-ma* look like those of *ru*, but *im* and *da* might also be suggested. *Uummaru* (the most probable) would mean "he will see".

Line 8. *Āšamšutu*^m *zuttu*^m (? *āšamšutu*^m *zu'uttu*^m). The first word is well known, and also occurs under the form of *āšamšatu*^m. If *zu'uttu*^m be the right reading, it may be for *zu'untu*^m, and it is owing to this that the rendering "violent" has been adopted. The meaning of *buzat* (? for *buzatu*) in line 9 is altogether uncertain—"totality" is not a likely rendering, as there are so many words of this or kindred meanings in Akkadian.

Tilpan gimri^m *šamē* in line 10 settles the long-standing question as to the reading of the first word, which turns out to be neither *midpanu* (from *dapānu*), *zizpanu*, nor *pitpanu*. "The bow of the whole heavens" is probably the rainbow.

The division-line marks a new stanza of the hymn, and the subject changes here. The first word (line 11) is probably to be read *muš-nar-pi-na-ti*, but its meaning seems unattainable with our present knowledge. A feminine noun followed by what is apparently a masculine adjective naturally leads the student of the text to seek further for an explanation. *Muš* (or *šir*) is the common determinative for "serpent", and as this is masculine in form, it would justify the form *šariru*^m which follows. If *šariru*^m be from the same root as *širru*^m, the translation then might be "the writhing serpent of the *narpinati*, the companions of . . ." *Šiltahhut pi*^m in line 12 shows an unusual form, and, if correct, possibly of four or even five radicals. Whether it has any connexion with either of the verbs *šalāhu* is doubtful, but as the second half of the

line, *mupittû ên[āti]^m*, seems to mean "wide open of eyes", it is probable that "fear-inspiring of mouth" is intended. This would suggest a verbal error, namely the insertion of the character *il*, and if the *l* be eliminated we should have the form *šitahhut*, the intensive conjugation with inserted *t*, from *šahātu* "to inspire terror".

If *šamû^m* "heaven" be "that which is high", then the *šamû^m* in line 13 is probably the same word applied to the divine being to whom the hymn is addressed. *Muzzibat* is probably for *muštibat*, participle (in the const. case) of the Qt. conjugation of *šabātu* "to seize". *Weldi^m*, in the next line, is apparently for *wesdi^m*, from *ēsēdu* "to reap". I have transcribed the first character of the word, *𐤕*—, as *we*, but the Aramaic forms have *𐤕* as the first radical, suggesting that one of the values of *𐤕*— is *he*, with the soft guttural. In line 15 we have the word *hurbāši^m* spelled out in full. This is apparently the *ḥarbašu* (or *murbašu*) of Muss-Arnolt's *Dictionary*, and shows the true reading of the word. The translation which he gives is "terror, fright", and something similar is probably the meaning here, though many would perhaps prefer another rendering.

Lines 16–18. There is hardly any doubt that *šaššaru* denotes some cutting instrument. Zimmern suggests "saw", which is possible from the modern poetical point of view, but the translation in the text seems to be preferable. The ideograph in the fragment K. 8676 ends with *𐤔 𐤍*, and Muss-Arnolt is probably right in suggesting its completion to *𐤔 𐤍 𐤔 𐤍 𐤔 𐤍*, *ēru gangamma*. Being formed of two wedges, a picture of two teeth of a saw might be suggested, but the late Babylonian form, *𐤔*, points to something curved. In the next word ("uprisings," or the like), it is noteworthy that the two forms *tugmati^m* and *tugumti^m* (for *tugumti^m*) occur here. The first I have regarded as a plural. The general meanings are "rebellion", "uprising", "resistance". Noteworthy also is the long *i* in *tamḥarī^m*.

Lines 19–20. For *kulpašu^m* I have been unable to find any

meaning, and therefore merely suggest that of the text, namely "thunderbolt". For *šamidu*, compare the Heb. שֶׁמֶר in Brown's *Gesenius*. What the forest of Bilgi (or, transposed, *Gibil*) can be, it is only possible to conjecture. The reading *kīšti^m* "forest", "thicket", is not altogether certain—indeed, instead if 𒀭𒀭 *iš*, it is possible to read 𒀭𒀭𒀭, *ka*, but what would such a word as *kikati^m* mean? I leave the interpretation for keener intellects than mine. *Gabal* is, of course, for *qabal*.

Lines 21–3. There is probably nothing more instructive than this verse of the hymn. *Miḡit* is the old way of writing *miḡit*. *Gaggara* is apparently for *qaggara*, one of the words for "earth", "ground", and as the form seems not to be the accusative, the ending *a* suggests that it is of foreign (Sumerian) origin. If *irazu* be for *irašu*, from *rašū* "to have", this seems to be analogous with *bašū* for *bašū* "to be", and perhaps points to the pronunciation of *zh* for *sh*. *Naprasum* "place of splitting" may have had the extended meaning of "making an opening", and, therefore, of making an arrow passage or shaft. *Parakki^m* is the well-known derivative from the Sumerian *baraga* "shrine", "chamber". *Luštašni*. Causative from *šanū* "to repeat", etc.

After a ruled line, a fresh section begins. *Āpi^m* (genitive) I take to be a noun from the same root as *āpū* "to cook", here with the meaning of "oven" or "furnace". *Danata^m* is possibly for *dannata^m*, with the meaning of "strongly". *Ipēzu* is possibly for *ipēšu*, with the meaning of "to glow", or the like. According to Meissner, *pēšu* translates the Sumerian character DAR, which has also the meaning of *ēpū*, from which comes *āpi^m*, the second word of this line. In line 25 *īkulu* is apparently from *ākālu* "to eat", in the sense of "to destroy". *Gizziš* should mean "like shorn wool", or the like. *Ūrūtu* is probably from *ūrū* "to go".

Lines 26–8. *Ēqrūti^m* is apparently the plural of *ēqartu^m* "precious thing", "ore". *Šušurū* is probably from *ēšēru* "to prosper". *Tabik* is possibly masc. owing to the name of Pap-due-garra, which immediately precedes, and it is to be

also noted that *šunu* is likewise masculine—possibly because the ending *ūti^m* in *êgrūti^m* was a masculine termination. *Šaškallu* is for *šuškallu*. The apparently accented termination with prepositional force may be regarded as having its parallel in *gātuššu* “into his hand”.

In what way the god was the arrest of the raging lion's onrush is not stated, and this leads to the possibility that the completion of the phrase was in the first line of the next (the sixth) column, the upper half of which is wanting.

Col. VI

As far as preserved, the sixth column has 37 lines, of which 17 are imperfect owing to the break at this point slanting downwards from the right-hand edge of the column to the left-hand edge of the tablet.

As, in line 6, there is no determinative prefix, *Kēš* as a place-name is doubtful.

Urāša^m in line 8 is apparently the aorist *pu'ul* of *rāšu* “to make abundant”, or the like. *Rāšu* “to rejoice” might also be quoted.

Line 12. *Itarra^m* is probably from *tarû* “to bring”, “fetch”.

Line 13 is uncertain owing to its incompleteness. I have translated *bili* as though it were imperative of *ābālu*, but “bring evil” seems to be an unlikely rendering—moreover, the form ought to be feminine. Muss-Arnolt has two verbs *balû*, the first meaning “be mindful of”, “worship”, and the other “to be or become non-existent”. The phrase seems, however, to demand an active meaning, and “annihilate” would suit the context, imperfect as it is, much better. *Bili raggi* may, by chance, be best rendered by “do away with my unrighteousness”.

With line 14 a new section or stanza begins. The character at the edge of the break is doubtful owing to a horizontal wedge which seems to accompany the “corner-wedge”. Nevertheless, I retain *û* for the present. As it is not certain

that one of the wedges, which might serve for an upright, is really such, we might read, instead of *û*, *i-lu*, possibly the end of a verb. In line 15 the character on the edge of the break I am inclined to complete as *ta*, and the verbal form indicated would in that case be *ittašib*, or the like. As lines 14 and 15 apparently form one phrase, their remains ought to make a connected sense, but how are these rare expressions to be rendered? If *idia* be the *i-di-ia* of *WAI.*, iv, 2, 42, 2, 4, one might propose some such rendering as “(in) a region apart [thou ?] sittest (as) her companion” (lit. “sitting one”). The next line apparently helps to supply the key—the companion was “the king enlightening the night”—probably Sin, the moon-god. Even in this early text the nominative *mūšu* has taken the place of the accusative.

Line 17. *Saha^m* (accusative) may be from Muss-Arnolt's *šahu* 1.

Line 18. *Misru* is probably the same compiler's *miçru* 2 “band”, “headgear”, and he suggests that the root is *מִצַּר*. *Giridē* may be connected with the Sumerian *𒂍 𒂗*, *giri-du* “to go on foot”, but the rendering—not only of this word, but of the whole line—is exceedingly uncertain.

Who “the god” mentioned in line 19 is is uncertain, as is likewise the subject of the verb. As, however, *bît ili* is the Babylonian form of the well-known Heb. Beth-el “the God” may be the supreme Creator of the world. But compare lines 23 ff.

Noteworthy is the name of the goddess *Kaki* in line 21. Whether due to word-play or not is uncertain, but it is noteworthy that her name is followed by the word *gagia^m* “cloister”, implying that this and the name were regarded as being connected. That they were connected, however, is unlikely, as the sharpening of *g* to *k*, though it occurs in words borrowed from Sumerian, can hardly be proved for any real or imagined borrowings on the part of the Sumerians from the Akkadian language. In Sumerian *ka-ki* would probably be best translated “mouth of the earth”, suggesting

that the first recluses in Babylonia lived in caves. Further inscriptions referring to this subject can alone settle the question. The reference to Mah, the mother of Pap-due-garra, and the favour made to her, is probably due to some filial act on the part of the subject of these songs.

From the wording in lines 25-30 it would seem that the *bît ili* was a temple-tower, and that it was situated at Kēš—its head was to be high and its foundations deep, so that might “hold the earth”. Akkad was evidently a land of mighty builders, though the edifices which they erected may not have had the elegance which the peoples of the west like to place in their architectural works. In spite of this, however, they succeeded in producing some exceedingly renowned structures, and would probably have done better if they had had the stone which other parts of the world supply.

In line 31 *baešub*¹ is Sumerian, but *paqdu* and *šulil* are Semitic. Why *paqdu* has a vowel-ending and *šulil* none can only be conjectured. Perhaps *paqdu* instead of *paqid* is due to the copula *u* which follows.

Lines 22 onwards repeat the title at the beginning—for remarks upon this portion, see pp. 64, 67, 69, 74.

¹ The root is *šub*, one of the meanings of which is *bašû* “to be” (B.M. S.9). It is probable that the prefixes *ba-e-* “therein, thou” could also be translated by the imperative.

Facts and Theories Relating to Hebrew Music

By ARTHUR M. FRIEDLANDER

(PLATE X)

THE few remarks which it is my privilege and honour to address to you to-day will be concerned with some of the results of investigations which I have made during the course of my research work in connexion with *The History of the Music of the Hebrews and the Synagogue, and the Jewish source of the early music of the Roman Church.*

The Talmud (Treatise Tamid VII) in its description of the "Daily Sacrifice in the Temple" employs two words, "dibber b'shir," in connexion with the Levitical Song.

Taking the interpretation of these words to be "spoke, in, or with, song", I am strongly of opinion that in this interpretation is to be found the key-note, or, perhaps I should rather say, the source of "Ancient Hebrew Song"; surely it means a musical utterance; in other words, "cantillation." Indeed, to the Jewish race belongs the system of a "*fixed cantillation*", denoted by the means of ancient musical signs, which are termed "Ta'amim" and "Neginoth". Now, the art of cantillation may have existed at the time of Moses (Ex. xv and Deut. xxxi, 30). It is generally held that the Jews were the first people who "read the Law" in their Divine Service. There is no earlier race or religion in the world that has used its Sacred Books for Divine Service. As bearing upon the subject of "cantillation", it may be of interest to state that, according to Burney, *History of Music*, i, pp. 210-11, "No less than forty-two different works are attributed to the Egyptian Hermes by ancient writers (Clemens, Alex. Stromata, lib. vi). Of these, the learned and exact Fabricius has collected all the titles (Bib. Graec., tom. i). It was usual for the Egyptians, who had the highest veneration for this personage, after his apotheosis, to have his works, which they regarded as their

Bible, carried about in processions with great pomp and ceremony : and the first that appeared in these solemnities was the chanter, who had two of them in his hands, while others bore symbols of the musical art. It was the business of the *chanters* to be particularly versed in the two first books of Mercury, one of which contained the hymns to the Gods, and the other maxims of government : thirty-six of these books comprehended a complete system of Egyptian philosophy ; the rest were chiefly upon the subjects of medicine and anatomy. These books upon theology and medicine are ascribed by Marsham (Chro. Saec. i) to the second Mercury, the son of Vulcan, who according to Eusebius (in Chron.) lived a little after Moses ; and this author, upon the authority of Manetho, cited by Syncellus, regarded the second Mercury as the Hermes, surnamed Trismegistus. Enough has been said, however, to prove that the Egyptian Mercuries, both as to the time when they flourished and their attributes, were widely different from the Grecian Hermes, the son of Jupiter and Maia."

Let me now draw your attention to the sublime "Song of Deliverance", the "Song of Moses" (Ex. xv), known as "Širath hayyam" (the Song at the Sea).

The ancient rendering of the "Širah" may have been originally a species of cantillation and song.

In a collection of ancient melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, by De Sola and Aguilar, there occurs a melody to the "Song of Moses" which is held to be of very remote origin. "According to a very ancient Spanish work, some have affirmed that what we now sing to the 'Song of Moses' is the same (melody) Miriam and her companions sung. This legend would not merit any serious consideration here, except that it undoubtedly proves that the origin of the melody was already long lost when this ancient Spanish book was written ; and here the acute remark of Dr. Sachs is applicable, that 'Fable soon occupies itself to speak when history is silent'. It is, therefore,

highly probable that the melody belongs to a period anterior to the regular settlement of the Jews in Spain." With reference to the foregoing remark concerning the origin of the melody, I should like to say that I have found a striking resemblance to it in the "Song of the water-carriers of Mecca", which Burckhardt made note of during his travels in Arabia. In connexion with the subject of my research work already mentioned, which I have in preparation for publication, I have followed up the suggestion made to me by the late Sir Hubert Parry whilst I was a student at the Royal College of Music, and with whom I studied composition, that the Hebrews got their music from the Syrians (Aramaens). Indeed, it is necessary to point out the fact, which is a subject of great importance to the study of the history of the ancient Hebrew music, that the Hebrews were well acquainted with music, song and dance, before they were captives in Egypt. This is quite comprehensible, for we learn from Genesis xxxi, 26-7: "And Laban said to Jacob, what has thou done, that thou hast stolen away unawares to me, and led away my daughters, as captives taken with the sword? Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly and steal away from me, and why didst thou not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp?"

In consideration of these facts, does it not strike one as being natural for Moses and the Children of Israel, to have been acquainted with, and to have recalled, the well-song referred to, at the sight of the sea? Moreover, those who are familiar with the construction of the earliest forms of folk-song, will perhaps hardly doubt, that apart from the value of its topographical bearing, the limit of the melody—which by the way is very tuneful—to only *three* notes, is *very striking evidence* of its antiquity.

Furthermore, it is important to add, that in considering the claims of antiquity to this particular melody, the Jews of Northern Europe,¹ other than the Spanish and Portuguese

¹ Known as Ashkenazim.

Jews,¹ have also a special rendering for the "Širah", the usual cantillation being replaced at different intervals by a distinctly melodious phrase. Indeed, there appears to be some connexion between the melodic renderings of the Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews, and this is further strengthened by the fact, that though the cantillation for the Holy Law used by the former community is in the minor key, that of the Ashkenazic is in the major key, which latter tonality is adhered to, in the rendering of the Song by the Sephardim which obtains in the early portion of the morning service. But I am of opinion, that as the melody of the Sephardim is complete in form, it is the more ancient, and it is quite possible that the Jews of Northern Europe have only retained a varied portion of the original.

SONG OF THE WATER-CARRIERS AT MECCA

Lento.

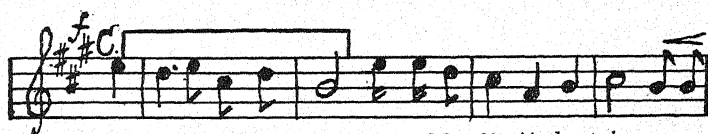
Ed - djene wa el moy fe - za ta - ly Sa -
 "Paradise and forgiveness be the lot of him who
 heb es sa byl
 gave you this water."

ŠIRATH HAYYAM

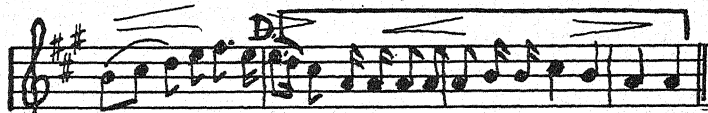
Allegretto moderato. (Sephardic melody.)

A - ši-rah la-do-nai ki ga-oh . . . ga-ah
 sus ve-ro-le-bo . . . ra-mah bay-yam:

¹ Known as Sephardim.



'Oz-ziv^e-zim-rath Yah va-ye^e-hi - li li-shu-'ah ze e-

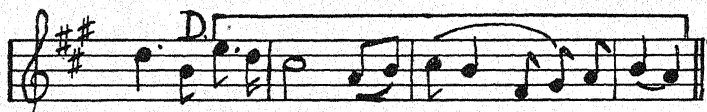


li ve-a-ve^e-hu e-lo-he a-bi va-ä-ro-mä-men-hu.

(Ashkenazic melody.)



A - ši-rah lu-do - nai ki ga - oh ga-ah



sus ve-ro-k^e-bo ru - mah buy-yam.

In the above musical illustrations, the sections marked A and B, denote the similarities in the melody of the "Song of the Water-carriers at Mecca", and the melody of the "Širah"; whilst the sections marked C and D, show the similarities in the melodies of the Sephardic and Ashkenazic renderings, of portions of the "Širah".

Your attention will now be called to the subject of "the Jewish source of the early music of the Roman Church".

In a lecture on "The Music of the Synagogue" which I gave at King's College in May, 1919—one of a series of four—that were held in connexion with the scheme for founding a Chair at the College for Ecclesiastical Music, in treating of this subject, I referred to the necessity of demonstrating, how very much of the *Liturgy of the Synagogue* had been borrowed by the Roman Church. Regarding the music, my theory is, that the converts from Judaism, handed down the traditional modes of the cantillation of the Holy

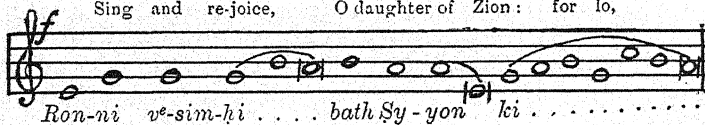
Law and Prophets (not, as has been erroneously supposed, the chants for the Psalms), *in a somewhat corrupted form*, subsequently adopting this for the music known as Plain Chant.

In January, 1914, the *Musical Times* published an article from my pen, in which I not only dealt to some extent with the Jewish musical accentuation, and the *similarity which I had found, between the specific signs for this accentuation and the neums* (the mediaeval system of writing music), but also with the important discovery which I had made, in showing by musical illustrations, the similarity existing between the Jewish mode of cantillation of the Prophets (by the Jews of Northern Europe), and some of the oldest known music of the Catholic and Protestant Churches. I found the similarity, to which I have just alluded, existing between the mode of cantillation of the *second chapter, tenth verse*, of Zechariah, as rendered in the Synagogue, and the music to the Te Deum.

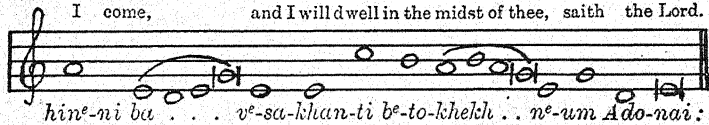
CANTILLATION OF ZECHARIAH ii, 10

Zento.

Sing and re-joice, O daughter of Zion: for lo,

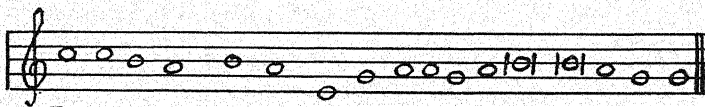
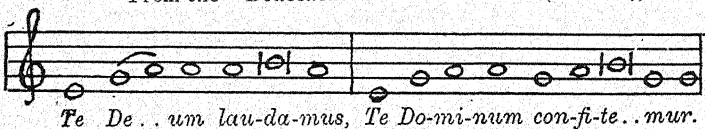


I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord.



TE DEUM LAUDAMUS

From the "Dodecachordon" of Glareanus (Basiliae), 1547.



From the Ratisbon Gradual (1871).



The description of this melody in "Grove" states:—

The antient melody—popularly known as the "Ambrosian Te Deum"—is a very beautiful one, and undoubtedly of great antiquity; though it cannot possibly be so old as the hymn itself, nor can it lay claim whatever to the title by which it is popularly designated, since it is written in the Mixed Phrygian Mode, i.e. in Modes III and IV combined; an extended scale of very much later date than that used by St. Ambrose. Numerous versions of this venerable melody are extant, all bearing more or less clear traces of derivation from a common original which appears to be hopelessly lost. Whether or not this original was in the pure Mode III it is impossible to say with certainty, but the older versions furnish internal evidence enough to lead to a strong conviction that this was the case, though we possess none that can be referred to the age of St. Ambrose, or within two centuries of it.

Having previously given sufficient grounds to prove the antiquity of the Hebrew cantillation, I venture to suggest that in considering the aforementioned remark referring to the derivation of the melody of the Te Deum "from a common original which appears to be hopelessly lost", I have been able to show without a doubt whence *it has been derived!*

Since the time that I made this discovery, my attention has been drawn to the music of the "Lamentations of Jeremiah" according to the rendering of the Roman Church, by Oskar Fleischer, an account of which is contained in the *2nd volume* of his *Neumen Studien*.

While his investigations are of value to the study of the Jewish sources of the early music of the Roman Church, perhaps I may be justified in stating, that I have pursued the subject further afield than he has, and thereby a more important result has been achieved.

Before entering into any of the details expressed by Fleischer, I should like to say that in the article on "Lamentations" in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ii, 86, 87 [1880], it states: "It is impossible to trace to its origin the Plain Chaunt melody to which the 'Lamentations' were anciently adapted, the most celebrated version, though not, perhaps, the purest—is that printed by Guidetti in his *Directorium Chori* in 1582.

"Early in the sixteenth century the use of the Plain Chaunt 'Lamentations' was discontinued in the Pontifical Chapel to make room for a polyphonic setting by Elziaro Genet—more commonly known by his Italian cognomen, Carpentrasso—who held the appointment of Maestro di Capella from 1515 to 1526. The compositions remained in constant use till the year 1587, when Pope Sixtus V ordained that the first 'Lamentation' for each day should be adapted to some kind of polyphonic music better fitted to express the mournful character of the words than that of Carpentrasso; and that the Second and Third Lessons should be sung, by a single soprano, to the old Plain Chaunt melody as revised by Guidetti.

"The disuse of Carpentrasso's time-honoured harmonies gave great offence to the choir; but, the Pope's command being absolute, Palestrina composed some music to the First 'Lamentation' for Good Friday in a manner so impressive that all opposition was at once silenced; and

the Pope himself, on leaving the Chapel, said that he hoped, in the following year, to hear the other two First Lessons sung in exactly the same style. The expression of this wish was, of course, a command; and so understanding it Palestrina produced, in January, 1588, a volume containing a complete set of the nine 'Lamentations'—three for each of the three days—which were printed, the same years, by Alexander Gardanus, under the title of 'Lamentations' *liber primus*. The work was prefaced by a formal dedication to the supreme Pontiff, who, though he still adhered to his resolution of having the Second and Third Lessons sung always in Plain Chaunt, expressed great pleasure in accepting it; and in 1589 it was reprinted at Venice, in 8vo, by Girolamo Scoto."

Now, let us deal with some observations made by Fleischer. To put the matter briefly: "Hieronymus, the author of the Vulgate, who lived for nearly forty years in Palestine, boasted of his accurate translation of the Bible which he specially founded on Hebrew manuscripts. In his introduction to his translation of the Bible, he says the Latin MSS. are more corrupt than those of the Greek, and the latter are more corrupt than the text in the Hebrew MSS. He clearly expresses, that the genuine tradition of the Christian religion must be sought for in the land of its origin, and when the Roman Church recognized his translation, in spite of its glaring defects, as the standard one, one must also take into account that principle for the musical practice.

"The Roman Church, which in all matters lays stress on authority and origin, would have its principles thrown into its face, if, with regard to music, it would not have made sure of the source of tradition, especially, as music took such a prominent place in its cult.

"Just that the 'Lamentations of Jeremiah' should appear in the oldest Latin neumatation, is probably not an accident; there is hardly another part of the Hebrew Bible appropriate

for that purpose, as these 'Lamentations' over the downfall of the Jewish state, and the freedom of the Jewish nation.

"After the destruction of their kingdom, the Jews, wherever they were dispersed, felt only too deeply the words of the Prophet, by means of which they could lament their misery. If there is a poem of the Holy Writ which could give expression to the feeling of this calamity, it is the 'Lamentations of Jeremiah'; and, if in any Song, the old Temple music could have been retained, it was in them.

"These songs the Christians learnt so much the easier, as they found themselves at first in the same condition as the Jews, and have retained in the Christian liturgy many an ancient Jewish custom. Mark well, it was not merely a melody which these 'Lamentations' show, but a musical form, a recitative formula, a declamatory scheme. With these 'Lamentation Songs' the Christian Church took over a very ancient musical principle. Since the musical form of the 'Lamentations' is of Jewish origin, it is to be assumed that this mode of recitation would not have been entirely lost amongst the Jews of later times. The old Jewish religious songs are, in fact, chiefly distinguished by their mode of recitative, and the free repetition of a tone, i.e. the use of a 'tonus currens' is altogether usual. Even the rule of the various cadences, of the comma, colon, and full stop had not been lost in the practice."

I should like to add here, that there is the possibility of the musical rendering, which would convey to the listener the feeling for discerning the phrases, whether long or short, and the cadences of each line or verse, being *anterior* to the invention and systemation of any graphical signs for musical and syntactical purposes. It may have been, that the vocal (musical) and verbal utterance were simultaneous. Hence, it is quite natural to think, that all the factors which serve to make up the various musical and verbal portions of inter-punctuation, were not independent of one another.

Music and poetry are sister arts. In a few words, Milton's ode "Blest pair of syrens" gives expression to this idea.

In selecting from Naumbourg's chant "Liturgiques des Grandes Fetes" (2nd part) the musical rendering of a portion of a "Piyyut", i.e. (poem) which is rendered in some of the Synagogues on the "Day of Rejoicing in the Law", and which was composed by Moses ben Samuel ben Absalom, who lived not later than 1150, Fleischer in marking off what he designates as comma, colon, and full stop, shows the strong similarity between the various portions of the musical rendering of the "Piyyut" and the rendering of the "Lamentations" by the Church of Rome.

Possibly Fleischer was not aware of the *date of origin* of the "Piyyut"! Moreover, Peter Wagner, in his second volume of *Neumenkunde* (1912) has arrived at the conclusion from investigations which he has made, that the neums in the *Codex Amiatina* are of the eleventh century!

To sum up:—Even if Fleischer had been aware of the date of the origin of the "Piyyut" why, may I ask, did he not give an illustration of how the "Lamentations of Jeremiah" are rendered in the Synagogues by the Ashkenazic Jews, i.e. the Jews of Northern Europe?

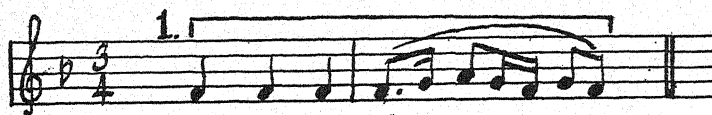
On my comparing the Hebrew melody of the "Lamentations", which is very beautiful, pathetic, and unique, with that of the "Piyyut", I find points of resemblance. But as the "Lamentations of Jeremiah" are *so many centuries older than the "Piyyut"*, it is feasible to assume that the music for it was adopted from the more ancient cantillation of the "Lamentations".

I should like again to draw attention to my theory, that as so much of the Liturgy of the Synagogue had been borrowed by the Roman Church, the converts from Judaism handed down some of the Jewish traditional modes of cantillation in a somewhat corrupted form, subsequently adopting this for the music known as Plain Chant.

Hence, whilst both from an archæological and musical

point of view, these later investigations of mine throw a fresh and more important light on the subject of the music of the "Lamentations of Jeremiah", perhaps I may also claim to have been able to *trace to its origin* the Plain Chant melody to which the Lamentations were anciently adapted!

Musical rendering of $\underline{\text{e}} = \text{T}^{\text{e}}\text{li}\text{ša g}^{\text{e}}\text{dolah}$. One of the Hebrew signs for the Cantillation of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, called in Hebrew "Ekah" and "Kinoth".

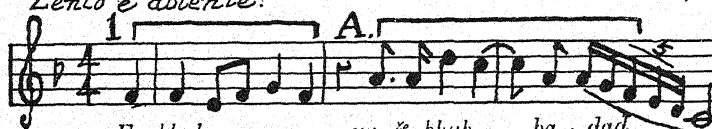


Teli - sha g'edo-lah

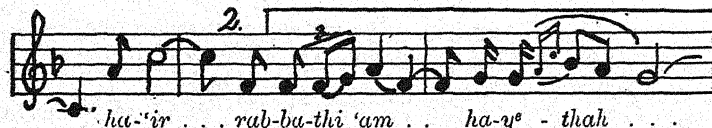
EKHAH

Lento e dolente.

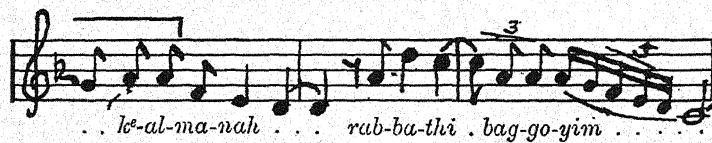
Lamentations I, i.



E - kah ya - š - bhah . . . ba . dad



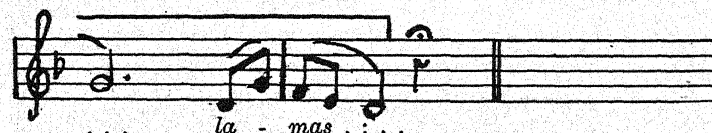
ha - 'ir . . . rab - ba - thi 'am . . ha - y - thah



.. k - al - ma - nah rab - ba - thi . bag - go - yim

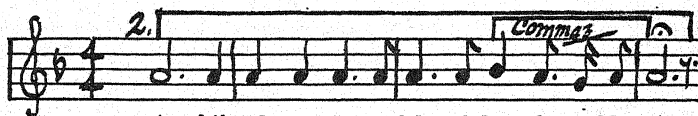


.. sa - ra - thi bam - m - di - noth ha - y - thah . . .

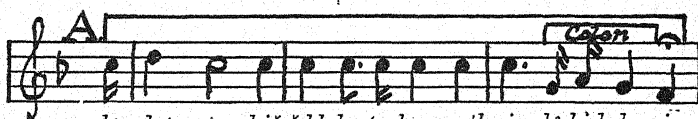


.. la - mas

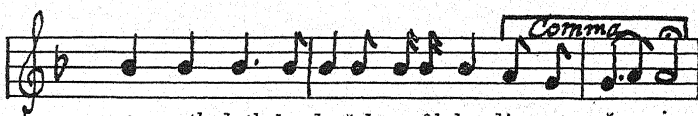
PIRYUT



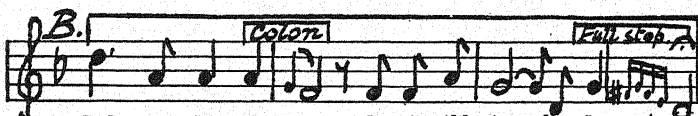
Az bik-šobh 'a-nav 'a-leh el har ha-'a-bha-rim.



bē-da' - to hiš-šebh ka-'a-lay-yath sin bē-hid-du-rim.

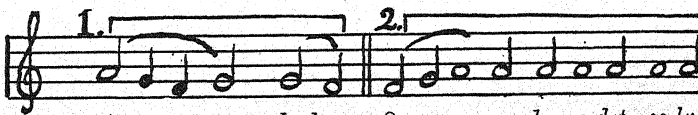


geze-rath dath ha-da-šah u-fik-ku-dim yē - ša - rim.

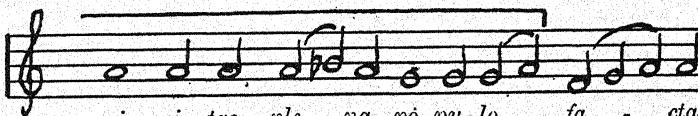


dod yeš lo lit - ten lē-miš-šibh-im bē-hu - rim.

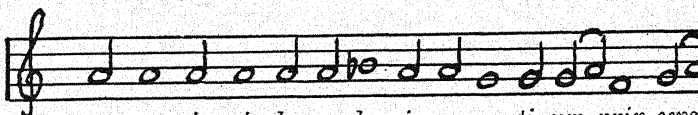
LAMENTIONEM



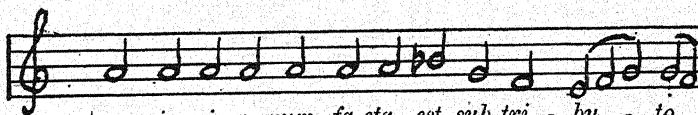
A . . . leph Quo - mo-do se-det so-la



ci - vi - tas ple - na pō-pu-lo fa - cta



est qua-si vi-du-a do-mi-na gen-ti-um prin-ceps



'pro-vin-ci-a-rum fa-cta est sub tri - bu - to.

[The sections marked 1 and 2, denote the similarities in the Hebrew melodies and the melodies of the Roman Church, whilst those marked A and B, denote the similarities in the melody of the "Ekhal", and the melody of the "Piyyut".]

In the course of my previous remarks I alluded to the similarity which I found between the ancient Hebrew musical accentuation signs and the neums.

Some time since, Mr. Elkan N. Adler showed me a Hebrew MS. which he had found amongst his extremely valuable Genizah fragments which he discovered at the old Synagogue at Fostat, near Cairo, and he consulted me as to the meaning of the signs depicted thereon. I was soon convinced that the signs in the MS. were neums. Subsequently, I consulted Mr. Hugh-Hughes at the British Museum, who kindly referred me to another authority, the late Mr. Abdy Williams, who not only gave me considerable and valuable information, but also brought the subject of my investigations to the notice of Dom. Andre Mocquereau, of the Benedictine Fathers (Solesmes), the eminent authorities on Gregorian music, from whom I also elicited many important details connected therewith.

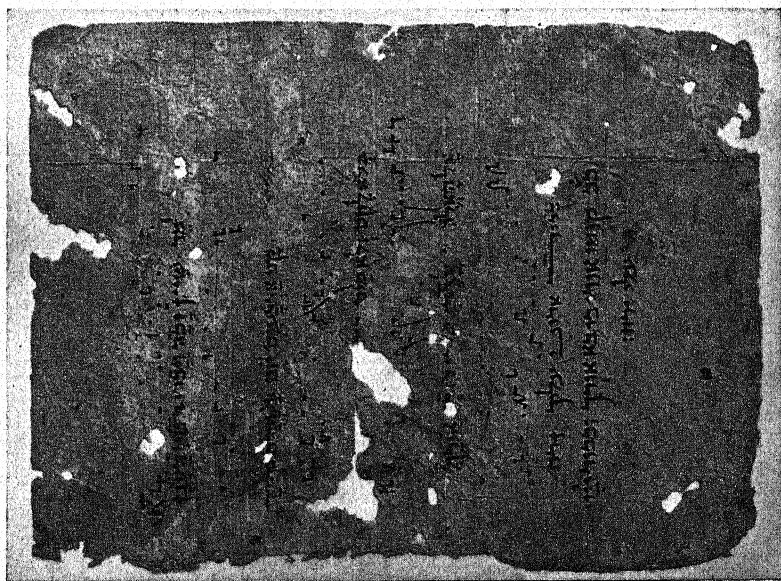
As a result of the investigations I am able to state :—

As far as I am aware, *this is the only Hebrew manuscript containing neums that has been discovered.*

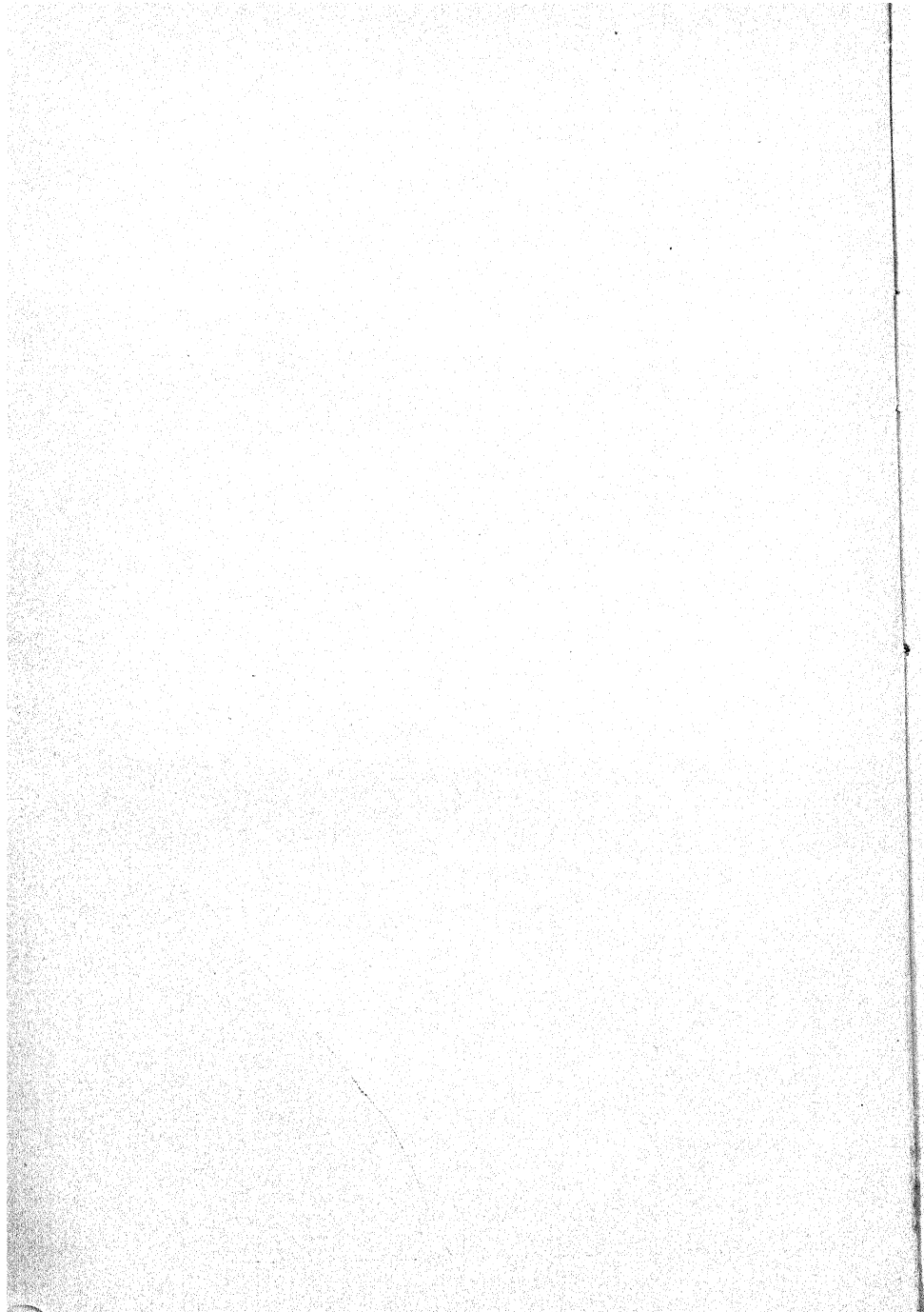
Regarding the Hebrew text, Mr. Adler gives the following version in the Appendix to his Catalogue of MSS. printed by Cambridge University Press :—

The fragment consists of a poem, the acrostic of which points to Amr ibn Sahal as the author. Several of his compositions are to be found in the Genizah, and he lived in the beginning of the eleventh century. Following the poem is a quotation from Isaiah lx, 1. He attributes the poem for use, either for Pentecost or Simhath Torah (Rejoicing in the Law).

The date assigned to the music is the end of the twelfth or thirteenth century.



Hebrew MS., with neums : a Genizah Fragment.



Dom. G. Beyssac questioned me as to the form used for the clef, and with regard to the stroke which unites certain notes, which latter is unknown to the Gregorian notation.

I suggested that the numerical value of the Hebrew letter Daleth, being 4, this letter was used to denote the clef Fa, on the fourth line.

As to the stroke, it appears to me to be for the purpose of showing that a certain number of notes are to be sung on a particular syllable of the word over which it is placed.

Regarding the provenance of the music, I suggested a Lombardic influence to the late Mr. Abdy Williams. With this view he concurred. Moreover, Mr. Williams having described the neums on page 2 as being "too fragmentary for any attempt at reconstruction", I am indeed glad to state that my solution of it—with the exception of a slight error or two in the matter of notes and rhythm—was found by him to be correct. At first, I considered this portion of the melody might be that for the cantillation of the Prophets, but further investigation induced me to reject that opinion. In all probability it is a species of "Hazzanuth", i.e. an intonation rendered by the Cantor. Furthermore, as there seems to be something in common with the melody that precedes this latter portion, it is not unreasonable to assume, that this melodic connexion tends to denote an artistic perception on the part of the individual who set the poem to music.

INTERPRETATION OF THE NEUMS IN MODERN NOTATION

B. 1st Strophe.

Andante maestoso.



C. Last Strophe.

ka-mo - sheh : ? ? ? ? el

ha - E - lo-[him] 'a-da - thi ku-mi ki

bo a-rekh u - - khe - bhod A -

do - nai 'a - la - yikh za - rah :

In the course of his remarks Mr. Friedlander rendered some vocal illustrations.

Notes on the Excavations of 1919 at Muqayyar, el-'Obeid, and Abu Shahrein

By H. R. HALL

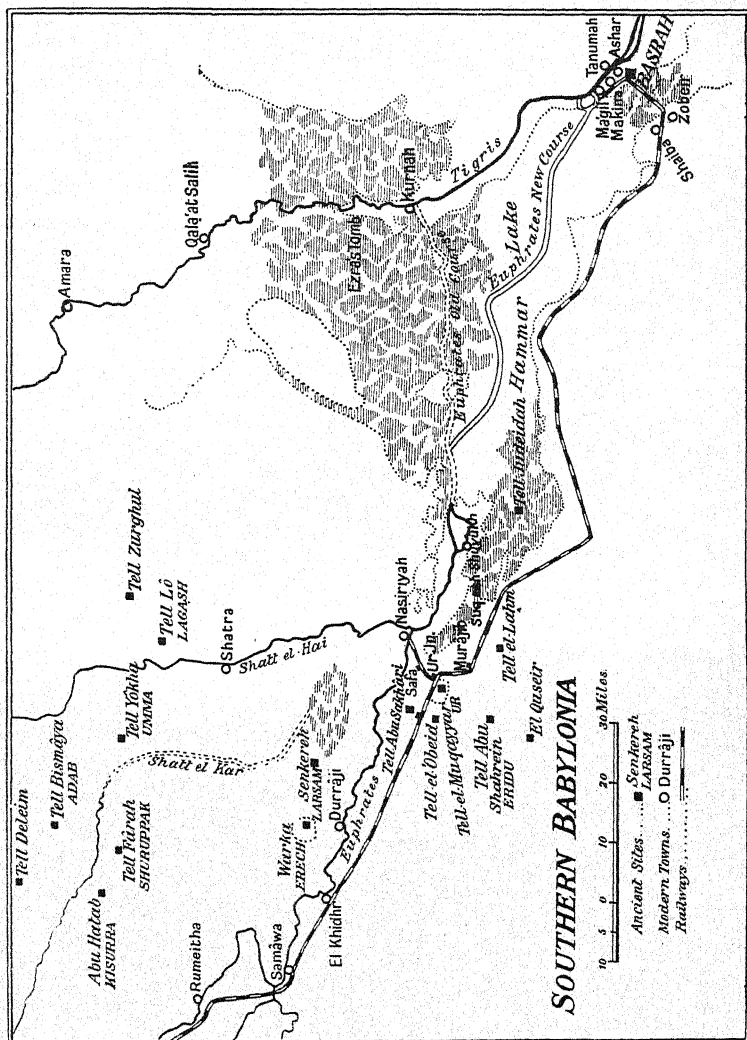
(PLATES XI-XVI)

IT was before the Royal Asiatic Society that seventy years ago (on 8th July, 1854, to be precise) Mr. J. E. Taylor, H.B.M.'s Consul at Basrah in Turkey-in-Asia, read his paper on his excavations for the British Museum at Ur. Nearly a year later, on 5th May, 1855, after a further season's work in the land of the Muntefik, Mr. Taylor read his paper on Eridu and other sites in the neighbourhood. The first paper, "Notes on the Ruins of Mugeyer, by J. E. Taylor, Esq.," will be found printed on p. 260 ff. of Vol. XV of the *Journal*, published in 1855; the second paper, "Notes on Abu Shahrein and Tel el Lahm," on p. 404 ff. of the same volume. Both articles were illustrated by the quaint woodcuts of the time, in which first the draughtsman and then the engraver combined successively to deform the (originally probably rather poor) sketches or notes of the actual observer into something that can have borne but a faint resemblance to the original. One notices this in Taylor's sketch of the ziggurrat of Ur on p. 262, which is of the severely diagrammatic kind, as befits a learned publication. For the florid and romantic style of the period one may turn to the picture of the same ziggurrat opposite p. 129 of Loftus's "Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana", published three years later (reproduced in Plate XII, Fig. 1).

Although published later than Taylor's two papers, the visit of Loftus to Tell Muqayyar and its neighbourhood took place earlier than Taylor's. W. K. Loftus went out to Mesopotamia first in connexion with the Turco-Persian Frontier Commission of 1849-52, under the orders of Colonel, afterwards Major-General Sir W. F. Williams (later the famous

defender of Kars), and secondly in conduct of the expedition sent out by the Assyrian Excavation Fund at the end of the year 1853. In the year 1850 Mr. Loftus visited Muqayyar, and as a result of his visit and the recommendation of Sir Henry Rawlinson, excavations were begun there in 1854 for the British Museum by Mr. Taylor. Loftus did not actually dig at Muqayyar or visit Shahrein, but Taylor carried out extensive excavations at the former place and was probably the first European in modern times to visit Shahrein, which had hardly ever been visited since by archæologists until first Capt. R. C. Thompson in 1918 and then I in the following year went there as well as to Muqayyar to dig in continuation of Taylor's work. Muqayyar had been described by Pietro della Valle as early as 1625, and at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century it was visited by various travellers, notably Baillie Fraser in 1835, before Loftus. But Shahrein was unknown till Taylor visited it.

In 1918 the Trustees of the British Museum desired to take advantage of the British military occupation of 'Iraq to resume their long interrupted work at Muqayyar, which was now known to be none other than the site of the ancient Ur "of the Chaldees", and at Shahrein, which was similarly known to have been Eridu, which the Babylonians themselves regarded as the most ancient human settlement in their country. Accordingly the Director, Sir F. G. Kenyon, arranged with the military authorities for the transference to archæological work from the Intelligence section of the army of Capt. R. C. Thompson, who thereupon made a preliminary investigation at Ur and then carried out a very thorough probing of the mysteries of Eridu, the important scientific results of which were published in *Archæologia*, vol. lxx (1920). On his return to England on leave in 1919, I was similarly transferred from the Intelligence branch of the army in England to Mesopotamia, in order to carry on the work begun by him, and on arrival was attached by Sir (then Lieut.-Col.) A. T. Wilson to the Political Service for archæological duty.

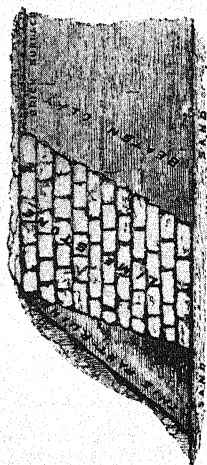


Sketch-map of Southern Babylonia, showing ancient sites.

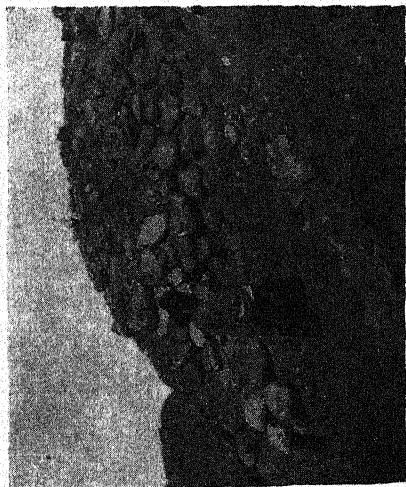




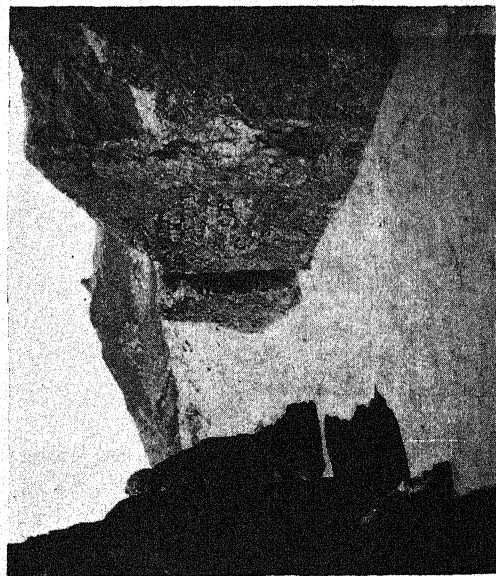
1



2

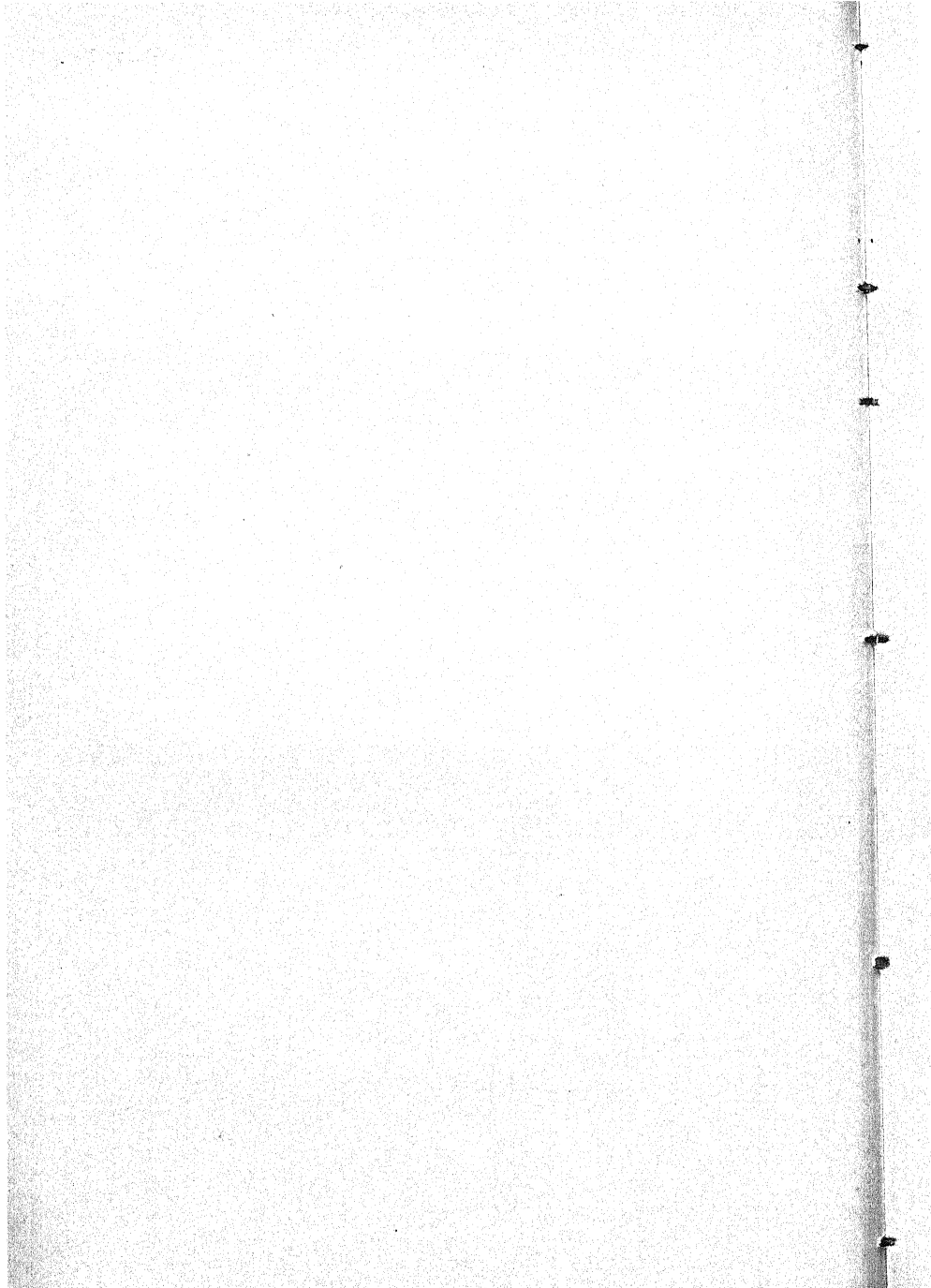


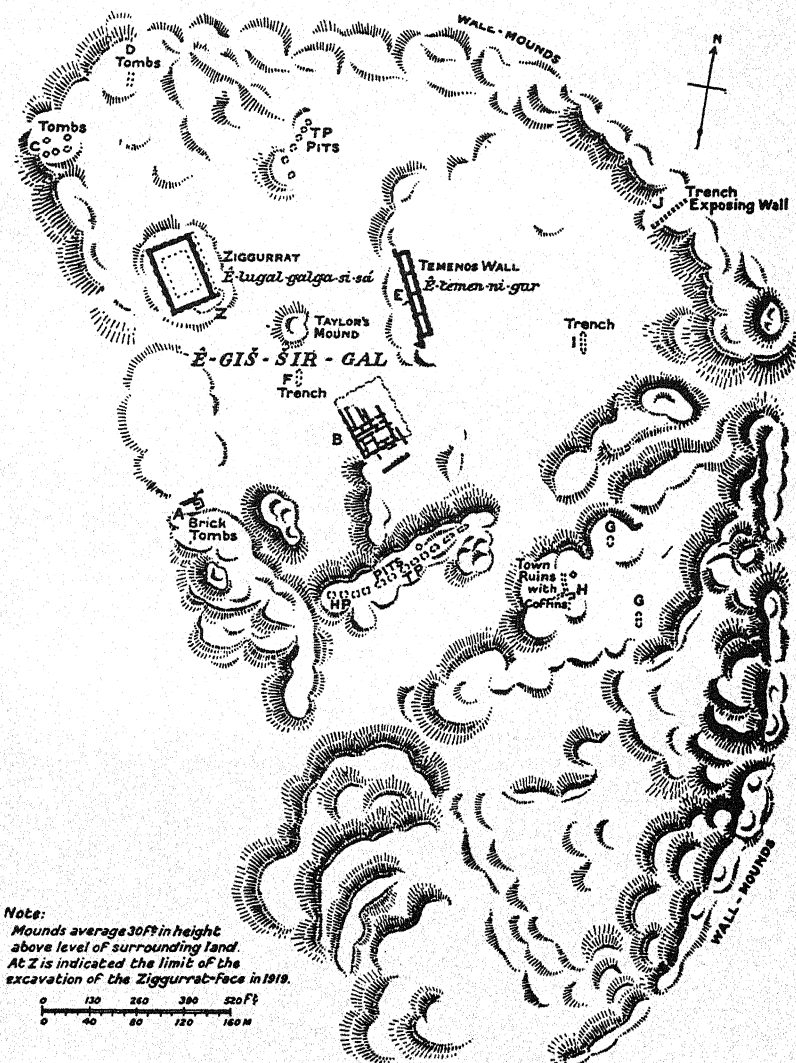
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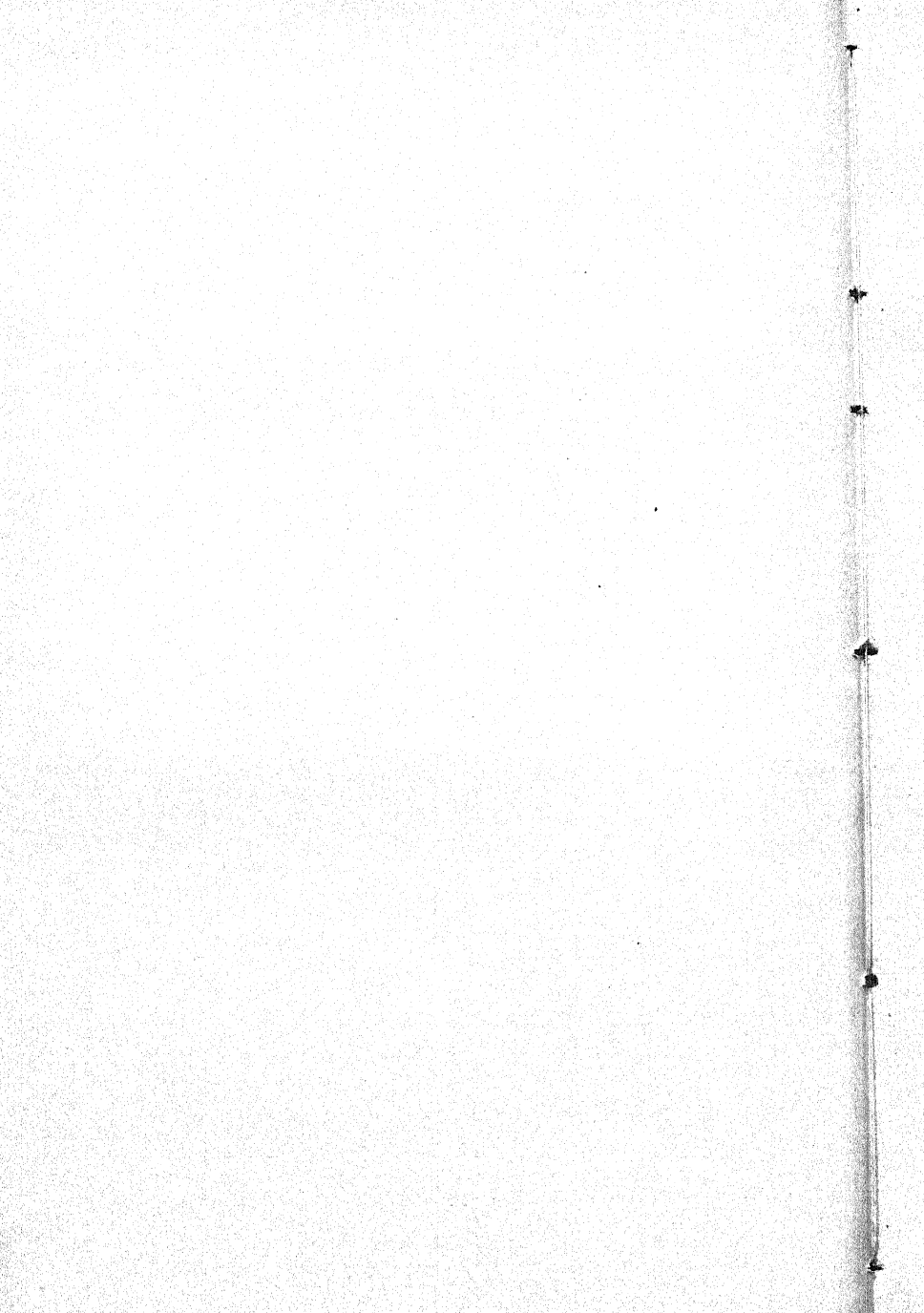
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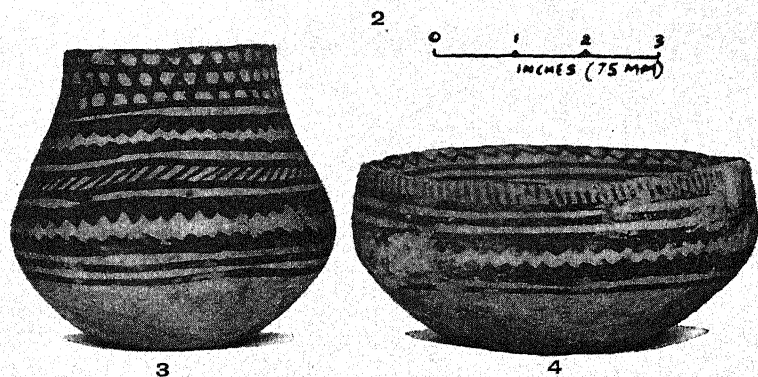
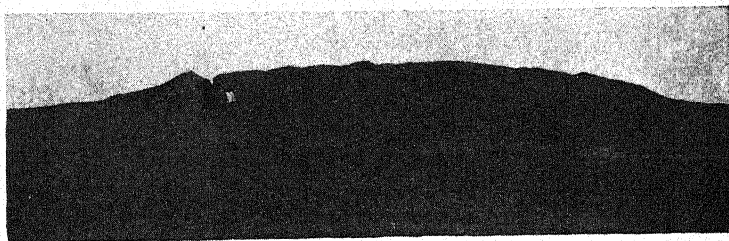
Muqayyar and Abu Shahrein.



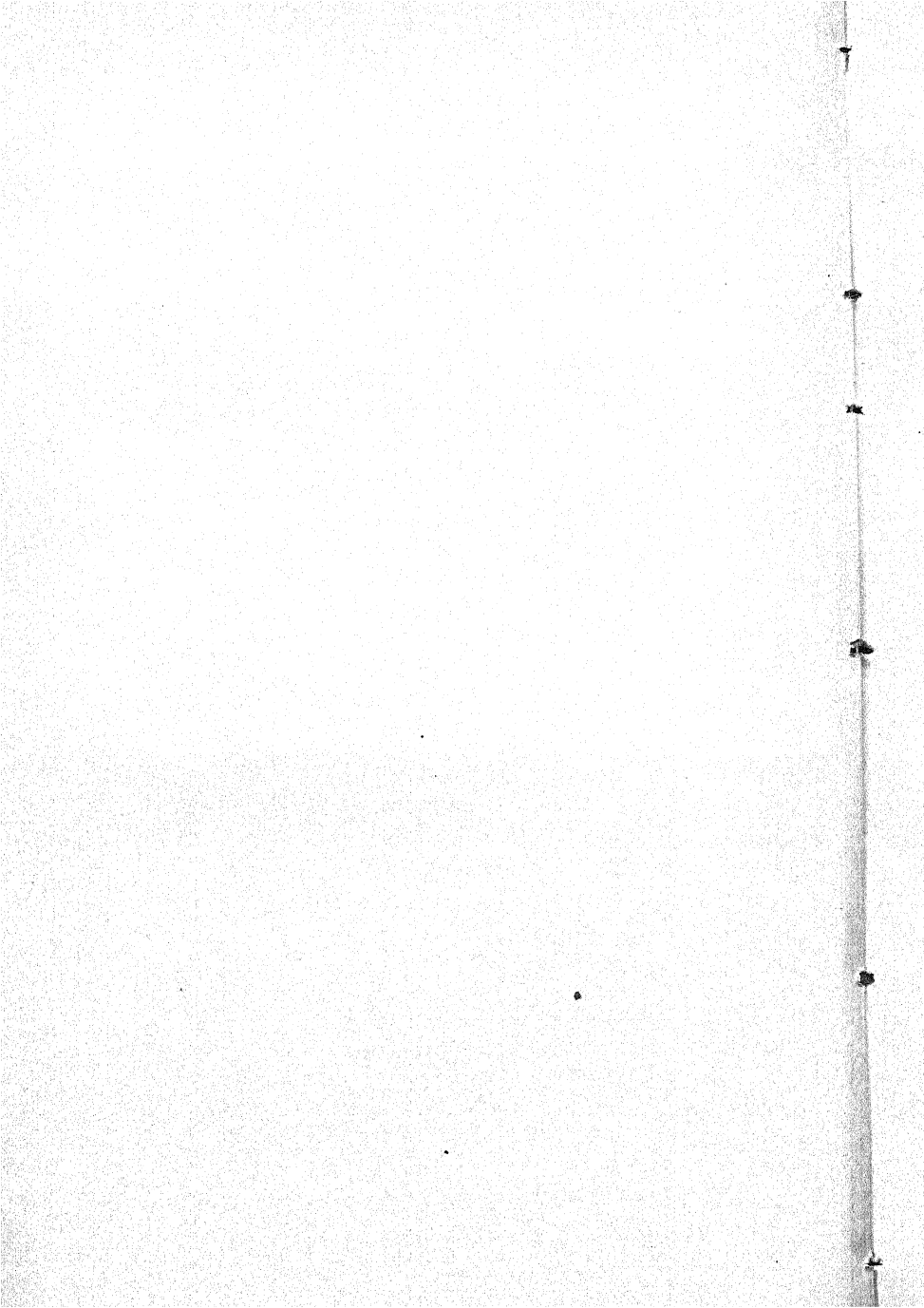


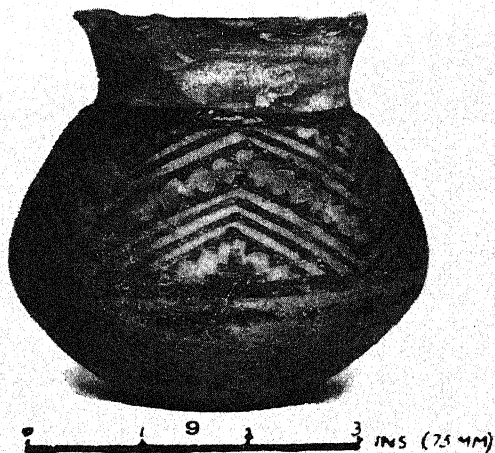
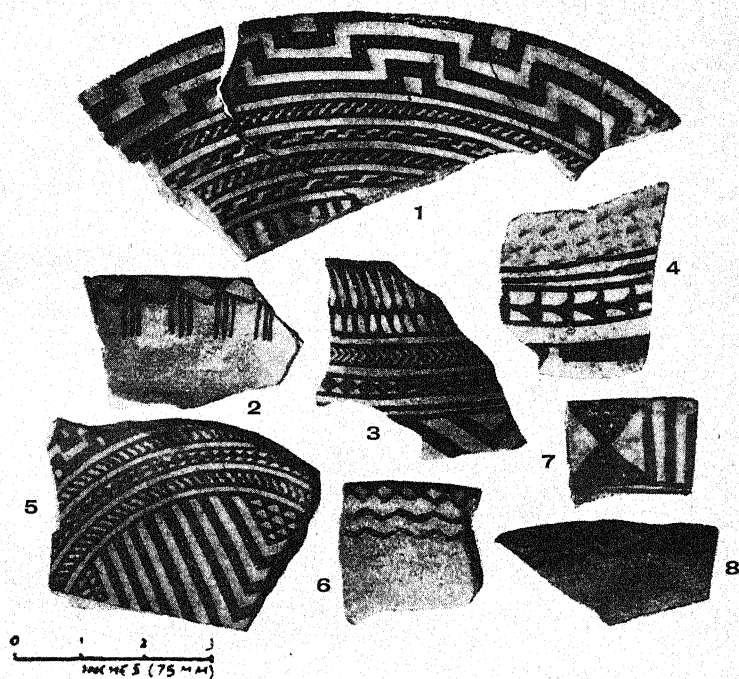
Sketch-plan of Tell Muqayyar, showing excavations of 1919.



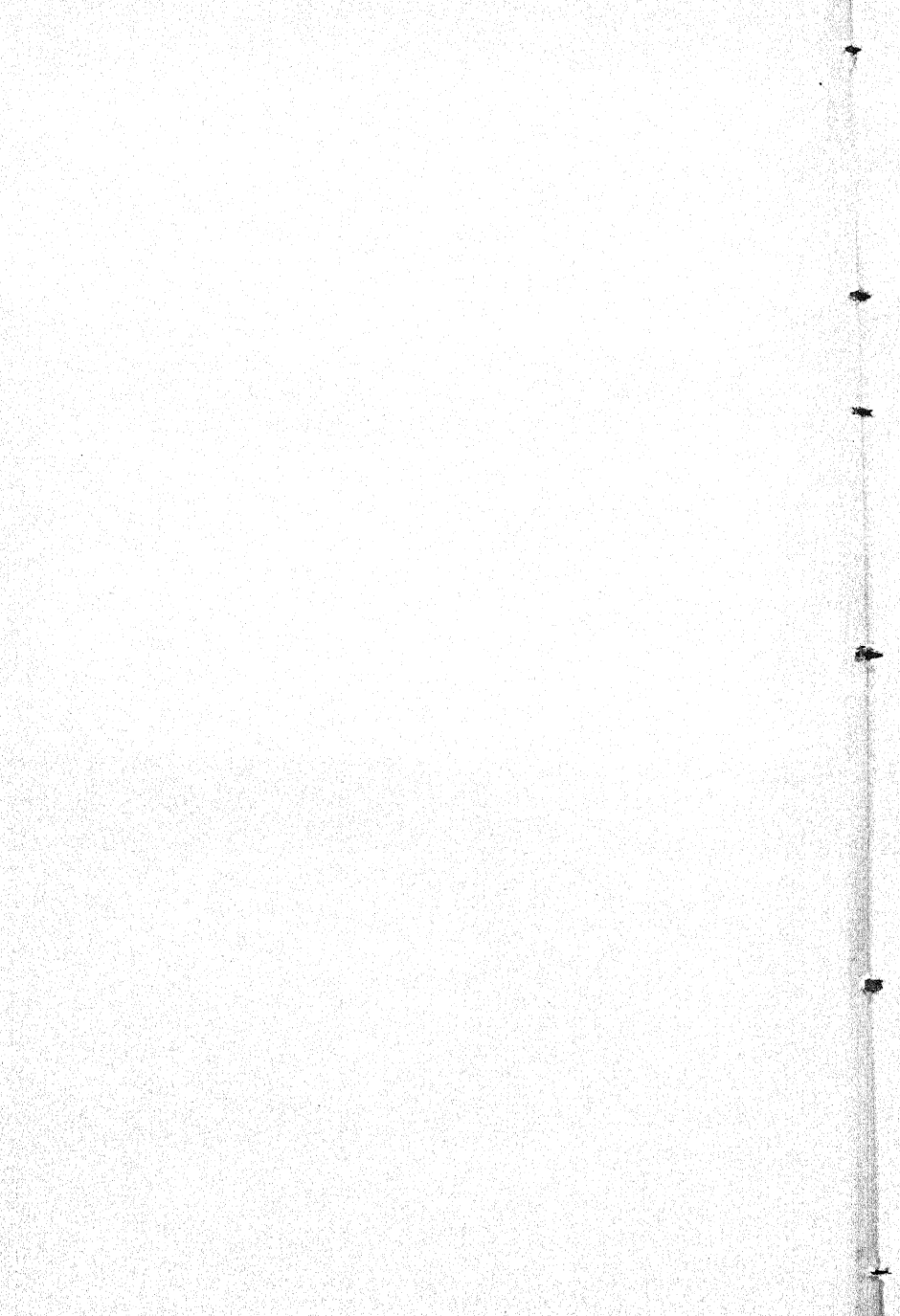


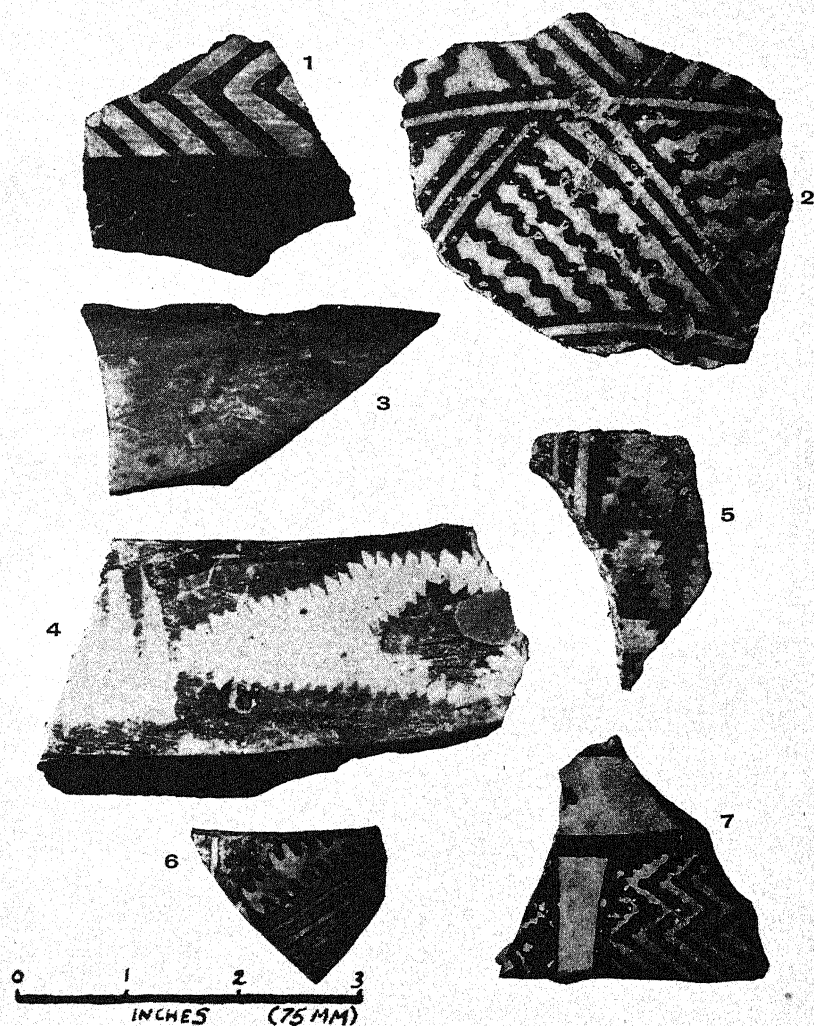
- 1.—Tell el-'Obeid from the north.
- 2.—Painted Pottery from el-'Obeid.
- 3, 4.—Painted Pottery from Samarra.



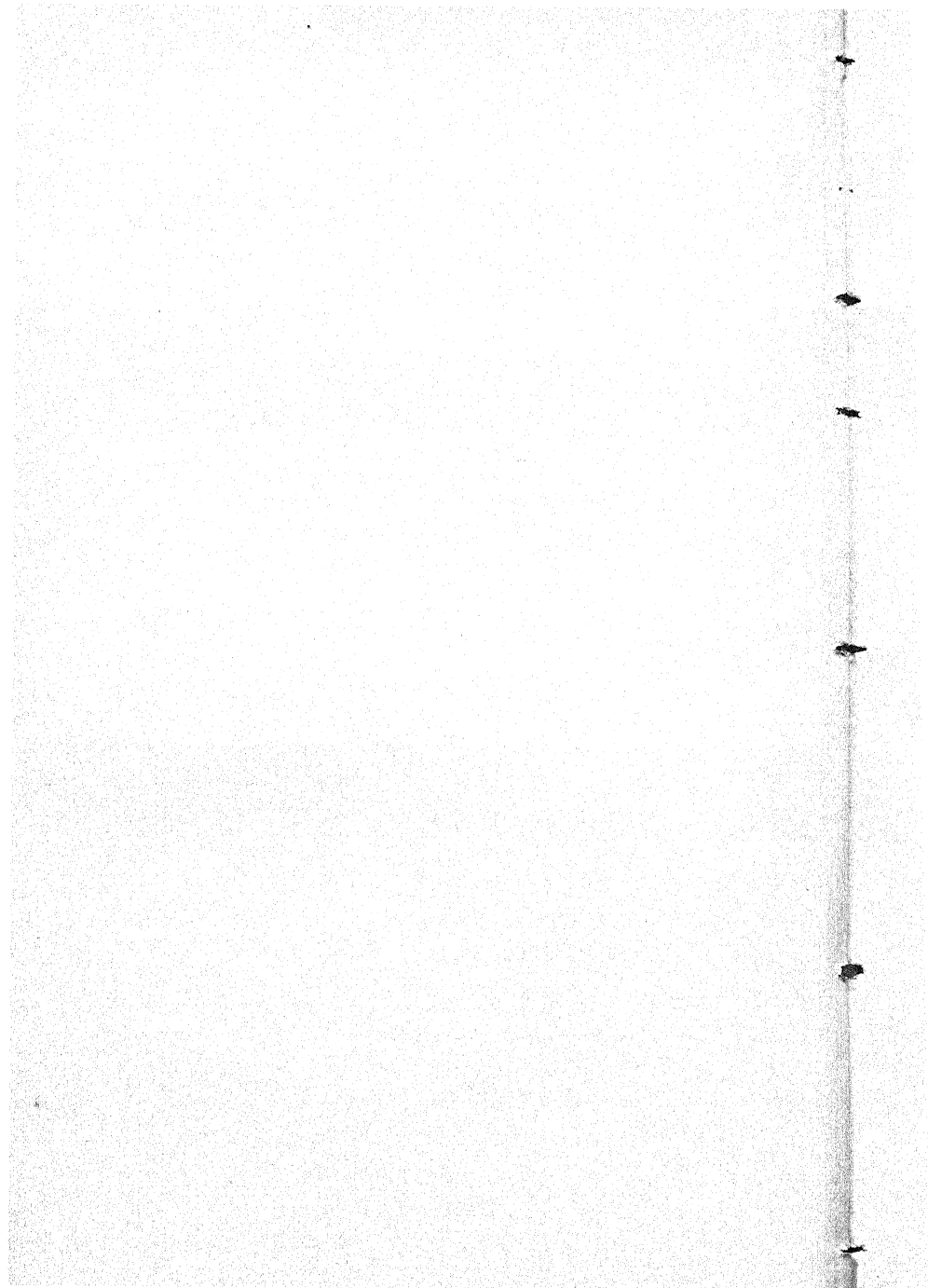


1-8.—Painted Pottery from Samarra.
9.—Painted Vase from Muhammadabad.





Painted Pottery from N.E. Persia (Muhammadabad and neighbourhood).



I decided to begin the formal excavation of Ur, and afterwards to carry on Capt. Thompson's work at Eridu for a short time, in order to preserve the continuity of our explorations. This I did, but the discovery of an important site of equally early date nearer Ur in the shape of Tell el-'Obeid, and its excavation, made it necessary for me to curtail my work at Shahrein considerably. And when Mr. C. L. Woolley took up the running and reopened the excavations in 1922-3 as my successor, he decided that Ur and el-'Obeid needed all his efforts, and that nothing more could be done at Eridu for the present.

The results of my work of 1919 at Muqayyar, el-'Obeid, and Shahrein were first published in summary form in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* for December, 1919. Since then I have republished this preliminary account in an enlarged form in two papers in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Oct. 1922 and Oct. 1923, this journal being selected on account of the facilities it offered for the reproduction of illustrations of works of art in a large format. On account of the specialist character of the *Egyptian Journal*, however, future preliminary publications of the diggings at Ur will not be published in it, but, instead, in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, where already Mr. Woolley's first preliminary report, that on his excavations of 1922-3 at Ur, has appeared, and where his report on the completion of el-'Obeid will soon follow.

It seemed appropriate that something should also be said in the *JRAS.*, which had published the report of Taylor in 1854, and no more appropriate place could be found than the volume issued in commemoration of the centenary of the Society, containing the papers read at the centenary celebrations. The present notes are a condensation of the paper read by me on that occasion.

Enough has been said with regard to Taylor's diggings in his original publication in the *JRAS.*, by Thompson in *Archæologia*, loc. cit., and by me in the *JEA*. last year.

His work was simply abandoned, as he left it, for sixty-three years, from 1855 till 1918. Tell el-Muqayyar (Ur) was seldom visited during the intervening period, owing to the continual trouble between the Muntefik tribesmen with their Sa'adun chieftains and the Turkish Government, which rendered the district unsafe. Except in the times of the great Elchi and, in later days, those of his not dissimilar successor Sir William White, when the *Ingliz* was the real ruler in Stambûl, it was impossible for an English traveller to go to Muqayyar even, much less to Shahrein. "I can only find record of one traveller having visited Shahrein between Taylor and Thompson, Sir E. Wallis Budge, who went there and to Muqayyar in 1888 from Sûk-esh-Shuyûkh (*By Nile and Tigris*, i, 241). Professor Hilprecht's statement (*Explorations in Bible Lands*, 181) that 'owing to the seclusion of the spot and the insecurity of its neighbourhood, Abû Shahrein has never been visited again [since Taylor's time] by any European or American explorer,' is not quite correct, therefore. But so unknown was Shahrein, owing to the fact that the Turkish authorities would rarely allow anybody to go there or even to Muqayyar, on account of possible attacks by the Muntefik or by desert Arabs, that, as Hilprecht remarks (op. cit., 178, n. 1), it was often, in defiance of the direct statements of Taylor (which can never have been read), placed not only miles away from its real situation, but even on the wrong side of the river! The most conspicuous example of this extraordinary error known to me is in the German Assyriologist Delitzsch's book *Wo lag das Paradies?* (published in 1881): he says (p. 288) that Eridu is 'heutzutage Ruinen von *Abu Šahrain* am linken Euphratufer nicht weit stromabwärts von Muḳajjar, etwa der Araberstadt *Sûk es-Šejûh* gegenüber. Näheres bei Ménant pag. 59 ff.' The reference is to Ménant's *Babylone et la Chaldée*, published in 1875, and Hilprecht ascribes the same error to Ménant, from whom Delitzsch presumably derived it. I cannot find that Ménant ever definitely stated that Shahrein was on the

left bank, but on his map it certainly is so placed, and Delitzsch must have followed this without ever having looked at Taylor's report in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1855. The mounds lie sixteen to twenty miles away in the desert on the opposite side of the Euphrates! The error was corrected by Scheil in 1898 (*Rec. de Trav.*, xxi, 126), but even he also seems quite ignorant of Taylor's publication, although Ménant had reproduced the latter's plans. As Hilprecht says, Scheil's statement 'is correct, but only confirms facts better known from Taylor's own accurate reports, which, however, do not seem to have been read carefully by Assyriologists during the last twenty-five years' (op. cit., 179, n.). Hilprecht himself, however, has not always understood Taylor. He has in his mind an exaggerated idea of the 'depth' of the 'valley' in which Shahrein lies. Taylor unluckily calls it 'deep': it is merely a shallow depression, not more than twenty feet below the rest of the desert, if that. It is 'deep' only for Babylonia, in relation to the surrounding landscape. But Hilprecht is so misled as to write that 'the ruins of Abu Shahrein, situated as they are in a deep valley, cannot be seen from Muqayyar'. One has only to mount the *ziggurra*t to see Shahrein plainly enough. His denial that Shahrein 'is identical with Nowawis, as assumed by Peters (*Nippur*, ii, 96, 298 ff.)', is also erroneous. I have heard Shahrein called *Nawāwīs* myself; and the name is said to mean 'grass-hoppers' and to refer to the innumerable cicadas which fill the air with their strident shrilling there and on the desert around in the spring and summer mornings. I have been nearly deafened by them in May."¹ This explanation of the name is, however, very possibly due to a confusion with *nawāmīs* or *namāwīs* (from *nāmūs*) "flies", "gnats", "mosquitoes", and Thompson (*Archæologia*, loc. cit., 106) heard the name interpreted as meaning "coffins" (from *nūwās*), a reference to the fragmentary late *larnakes* of pottery that lie about on the subsidiary mounds near by.

¹ *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1923, p. 178, n. 3. Cf. *Archæologia*, lxx, p. 106.

Mr. Sidney Smith suggests that it might also be merely a diminutive of the personal name Nūwās.

An interesting conclusion drawn by Mr. Thompson from his investigations at Shahrein is that when Shulgi (Dungi) or any other king tells us that Eridu lay "upon the shore of the sea", he does not mean the true *sea*, the Persian Gulf, as has hitherto been supposed, but an arm of the sea, a brackish lake or backwater, like the Hammar on a small scale, or the false river that now runs up at the back of the Shatt el-'Arab behind Basrah to Shaiba. Such a branch of the sea, as it was evidently regarded as being, although its waters were fresh, or brackish at most, in ancient days reached and surrounded the mound on which Eridu stood, as Shahrein still stands in the centre of the depression that represents the ancient "sea". This is proved by the freshwater shells that everywhere strew the desert here, and also by geological considerations.¹ But doubtless Eridu was a port, in the sense that Manchester or London are. And in the early days we see a trace of the seagoing activity of the city in the great masses of stone that lie about on its mounds. Such stones are foreign to Babylonia, where even the tiniest pebble is a rare curiosity. The prismatic basalt and dolerite blocks that we see at Shahrein were brought by sea or river in boats either from the Upper Euphrates valley or from the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf; the granites may have come from further afield, from Sinai all the way down the Red Sea and through the Straits of Bab al-Mandab; the calcite or aragonite from the Eastern Egyptian desert (Māgan ?) by the same route. But the gypsum blocks of which the town-walls were built (stone walls were, indeed, a rarity there) came from close at hand, not more than two or three miles away in the desert. I uncovered a typical bastion of this stone at Shahrein, built of formless blocks, two or three feet across, piled up anyhow (Pl. XII, Fig. 3). Mr. Taylor and Mr. Thompson had found such walls before me (*ib.*, Fig. 2).

¹ *Archæologia*, lxx, p. 124 ff.

My chief work at Shahrein was the clearing of some interesting early houses, dating before 2000 B.C. (*ib.*, Fig. 4); at Muqayyar (Ur) (Pl. XIII) that of a building of the temple (?) of the moon-god Nannar, provisionally known as building "B", and the beginning of the excavations of the *ziggurrat* or temple-tower (Pl. XII, Fig. 1) and the *temenos*-wall ("E" on the plan, Pl. XIII) of the temple; while in the small *tell* of el-Ma'abed or el-'Obeid, four miles west of Ur (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1), I discovered and partially excavated an interesting little temple building, a shrine of the goddess Nin-kharsag, of the earliest Sumerian period, which Mr. Woolley's later work this year has proved to date from the reign of A-anni-padda, son of Mes-anni-padda, a king of the first dynasty of Ur, whose date may probably be placed somewhere between 3600 and 3000 B.C. Details of the excavations will be found in the two articles published in the *Journ. Eg. Arch.* for 1922 and 1923. Further, at Ur, in 1919, typical graves of various periods were dug and their contents recorded, while at Shahrein and el-'Obeid the surface-remains from prehistoric settlements were collected, including numerous specimens of a most interesting painted ceramic, first found by Thompson at Shahrein in 1918, and regarded by him as prae-Sumerian.

All kinds of small relics of this settlement (and cemetery?) were found at both places:—flint and chert knife-flakes and arrow-heads, cores and flakes of quartz crystal; celts (of Anatolian type) of jasper and nephrite; fragments of obsidian and smoky quartz vases, beautifully ground; inlay plaques of red sandstone, jasper, and bituminous limestone (with V-shaped perforation at the back through which ran the copper wire which secured them to the backing of bitumen in which they originally were set), nails of copper, often capped with gold leaf, and a wedge of gold; besides votive (?) sickles of almost vitrified pottery and strange objects, like gigantic bent nails, of the same material; pottery cones that had been used as a wall-decoration (as Loftus found at Warka); and last but not least the painted pottery. Most of these objects

seem to be of the same date. The copper nails, however, may be as late as the third dynasty of Ur (c. 2300 B.C.), but may equally be earlier, though presumably not prehistoric. The obsidian, flint, and crystal flakes are obviously prehistoric, but are not much earlier (if at all) than the beginning of the age of metal, as they would seem from their appearance to belong to the Chalcolithic period. The pottery, one would think, was of the same date. Neither Thompson nor I ever found it with Sumerian objects of the historical period; the pottery found by us of that date was unpainted, though at 'Obeid I found some evidence of degenerate painted ornament in pottery in connexion with objects of early Sumerian date. Mr. Woolley's excavations will probably enable us to form definite conclusions on the point. Mr. Thompson, as I have said, regards this ware as prae-Sumerian, and as evidence of an early Elamite conquest and occupation of Babylonia before the Sumerians came there. It is the fact that precisely similar pottery has been found in Elam, at Bandar Bushir on the coast of the Gulf (Bushire), by M. Pézard. The Bandar Bushir pottery, as I was the first to point out,¹ is identical with that of Shahrein and el-'Obeid, in ware as well as decoration. The hard, almost vitrified, thick, greenish-drab hand-made ware (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2) is characteristic of all three sites. The decoration usually is vivid black, rarely (on softer pottery) reddish, is generally geometric in character with occasional touches of naturalism in the what seems to be the representation of plant-forms, and of "stylism" in that of the rarely pictured animal forms. The ware, as known from fragments found at Shahrein, has been well illustrated by Mr. Thompson²; and now that Mr. Woolley has happily found completer pots in his new excavations of 1923-4 at el-'Obeid, we shall be better instructed in the matter of the types. The question of the relation of this early Babylonian and Elamite ware to the other well-known early Elamite wares found by de Morgan and his helpers at Susa and Tepeh Musyān has been

¹ *Journ. Centr. Asian Soc.*, 1922, p. 125.

² *Archæologia*, loc. cit., figs. 9-11.

recently discussed in detail in a special monograph on the early pottery of South-East Asia ¹ by Mr. Henri Frankfort, who has devoted much study to the subject. I gather that he considers that there is some relationship between this South-Babylonian and Elamite coast ware (if one can so describe it) and the "poterie épaisse" of Musyan and eventually the first style of Susa (that beautiful ware with its highly stylized animal patterns and its geometrical bands and chevrons which M. de Morgan considers to be of such very high antiquity), but none with that of the later strata at Susa. The Susian ware, however, is much finer, and never fired so hard. In all probability the first Susian is much older than the second Susian and the Babylonian and Musyan wares: Mr. Frankfort considers that there is, in fact, no relation between the two Susian styles at all: the first died out long before the second arose. Now it is the Susian styles (related or not) and that of Musyan that can properly be described as Elamite. The Bandar Bushir pottery we may call "coast-Elamite" if we will, but in reality it is, being distinct from that of Susa and Musyan and identical with the early Babylonian, rather to be described as Babylonian, with the pottery of Shahrein and el-'Obeid. So that Mr. Thompson's view that this ware is to be regarded as proof of an early Elamite conquest of Babylonia is to be treated with caution till we know more. I can agree with him that it is not Sumerian, provisionally, and again till we know more. At present the pottery that is definitely associated with the older Sumerian remains from el-'Obeid and elsewhere is, as I have said, plain and unpainted. Possibly, therefore, we may regard the makers of the Shahrein-'Obeid pottery as non-Sumerian, but also as probably non-Elamite. Who they were we do not know, but they may well have come from the north.

All over Western Asia there was in use in the Chalcolithic and early Bronze Ages a geometric ceramic decoration which seems related in its various appearances, notwithstanding

¹ *R. Anthropol. Inst.*, occasional paper No. 6, 1924.

local variations and of course local differences in clay and fabric. We find it in Elam and in South Babylonia. At Samárrā in Akkad Messrs. Herzfeld and Sarre have found a very distinct form of it, perhaps rather later in date than that of the south, but hardly very much so. This ware, which is now well represented in the British Museum collections, is usually hand-turned, like the (earlier?) South Babylonian ware from Shahrein and 'Obeid, which but rarely looks as if made with the slow wheel. The Samarra pottery is characteristically different from the South Babylonian, being rarely so highly fired; it is not often that one finds a fragment with the characteristic vitrified green appearance of Shahrein or 'Obeid. Its decoration, however, is obviously akin to that of the southern wares, though we find more traces of stylized forms, such as goats, women dancing,¹ etc. With the "Beistimmung" of Dr. Sarre I publish here photographs of some specimens of this interesting ware (Pls. XIV, 3, 4; XV, 1-8).

Then there is the famous pottery found by Pumpelly at Anau, in Turkestan, to which as at Susa we are invited to ascribe very early dates. This ware is of different periods, of which the oldest may be very old indeed, as that of the first style at Susa certainly is. It belongs, judging from its decoration, to the same circle of geometric ceramic ornament as the foregoing, unless we are to deny all probable connexions of this kind at all, and say that such geometric pot-painting may have been invented anywhere at any time. But the fact remains that we are talking of one particular portion of the globe and more or less of the same period. Geometrically decorated wares from Algeria and Mexico obviously do not come into the matter either in place or date.

Then there are the fragments of similarly decorated ware and a complete pot from Tuz and Muḥammadabad in North-East Persia in the British Museum (Pl. XV, 9; Pl. XVI).²

¹ See Frankfort, loc. cit.

² Most of this pottery was excavated by Major J. M. Wallis, 20th Deccan Horse, in a mound $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Muḥammadabad, district of Daregkej,

But here we begin to get sericus differences in fabric (a hard shiny red hæmatite-painted ware, for example, occurs, which is unknown in Babylonia, and a "soapy" drab ware apparently identical with the "Minyan" ware of prehistoric Greece, also unknown in Babylonia) and variations in the style of painting, which bid us pause, although we have sharp-keeled examples (known also at Susa) which are paralleled at el-'Obeid (discovered by Woolley), but in vases, whereas the Muḥammadabad examples were bowls, and of much thicker ware. And when one is shown wares from Honan in China¹ that somewhat resemble ours of Western Asia one faces the conclusion that even here also there is a relation, and, of course, it may yet appear later on, when we know more, that such a relation is quite probable.

In 1909 I compared the Anau pottery with the early pot-fabrics of Asia Minor described by Myres and Chantre, and some fragments found by King at Kuyunjik (Nineveh) in Assyria, and others from Kalavaso in Cyprus, and both with the late neolithic painted geometric pottery of Zerelia, Dimini and Sesklo in Thessaly and Chaironeia in Boeotia.² The resemblance of the Asia Minor wares to that from Kuyunjik is undoubted, and of both with that of Samarra and so eventually with 'Obeid and Shahrein and Bandar Bushir, not to speak of Elam. The further relationship with Thessaly is more problematical. But one thing can be said, that the Thessalian wares are radically distinct from the whole Minoan-Aegean series of the rest of Greece. They are akin in decoration to the Dipylon pottery that later developed probably out of a combination of

N.E. Persia. "They were dug out from an alluvial layer, which was covered by many other layers, being of geological formation." This is the information supplied by the finder. Some fragments are described as from Tuz.

¹ J. G. Andersson, *Palæontologia Sinica*, ser. D, vol. i, "The Cave Deposit at Sha Kuo T'un in Fêng-tien," "The Yang Shao Site in Honan" (Peking, 1923), and "An Early Chinese Culture" (*Bull. Geol. Surv. China*, No. 5, 1923). Mr. Andersson compares his Honan pottery with that of Anau and that of Tripolje in Bosnia.

² *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xxxi, p. 311 ff.

the debased sub-Mycenæan style with a purely geometric style akin to that of Thessaly and of early Asia Minor. At any rate, the Thessalian style, if not that of the Dipylon too, connect with the geometric series that ranges at least from Cappadocia through Assyria and Akkad to Elam and Southern Babylonia, perhaps also to Anau and Muḥammadabad.

The discovery of the South Babylonian geometric ware by Thompson and myself has, then, revived interest in the question of the interrelation of these early ceramics of the Near East and suggested new possibilities of far-reaching extent as regards the early history of ceramic decoration in Western Asia.

Of my other finds of 1919 at el-'Obeid I have already said in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* and the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* as much as is necessary before the final official publication of the excavations. It is of the greatest interest that the continuation of the work at el-'Obeid, which I was obliged to leave unfinished in 1919, by Mr. Woolley has resulted not only in the discovery of much more of the important early pottery, and in a more complete state, but also in that of more of the remarkable copper works of art that I found. El-'Obeid is a tiny mound, measuring only about 150 feet long, and it is probable that all these works of the early Sumerian artists in metal are therefore of the same period, and that the copper bulls and shell and limestone reliefs in copper frames found this year by Mr. Woolley are of the same date as the great lion-heads of copper with inlaid stone eyes and teeth of shell and bitumen cores, the small bulls, and the relief of Imgig the lion-eagle of the god Ningirsu, grasping two stags, the stone statue of Kuril (?) and his archaic inscription, the pillars with mother-of-pearl tesserae set in bitumen, etc., found by me in 1919. And this date is probably as early as 3600 B.C., as Mr. Woolley was, as I have said, lucky enough to find inscribed relics read by Mr. Gadd as of the very early king A-anni-padda, of the first dynasty of Ur, the oldest dated cuneiform inscriptions.

The prehistoric pottery, therefore, must date well before 4000 B.C., as also does that of Susa. And although the western wares may be later (those of Thessaly certainly are), that of Samarra ought to go with the rest of the Mesopotamian series, and can hardly date much later than 4000, though I am aware that its discoverers are inclined to contest such a conclusion, and for archaeological reasons, which they consider valid, would prefer to date it considerably later, perhaps even so late as c. 2500 B.C. This, however, seems to me difficult to accept. If, however, the painted pottery from Assur, mentioned by Frankfort, *loc. cit.*, p. 63, is of the historical period, as it seems to be, we have a later survival of painted ceramic in North Mesopotamia, which is not found in the south.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES XI-XVI

PLATE XI

Sketch-map of Southern Babylonia, showing ancient sites. Reproduced by permission from the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, December, 1919.

PLATE XII

1. The *Ziggurat* of Muqayyar (Ur). From Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, p. 129.
2. The stone wall of Shahrein (Eridu). From Taylor, *JRAS.* 1855.
3. A stone bastion at Shahrein. Photo H. R. Hall, 1919.
4. A street at Shahrein, excavated 1919. H. R. Hall.

PLATE XIII

Sketch-plan of Tell el-Muqayyar (Ur), showing excavations of 1919. After *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1924.

PLATE XIV

1. Tell el-'Obeid from the north. Photo H. R. Hall, 1919; after *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1923.
2. Prehistoric painted pottery from el-'Obeid, 1919; black and brown on greenish-drab ware.
- 3, 4. Painted pots from Samarra; 3, brown on greenish-drab; 4, brown on drab (thin slip).

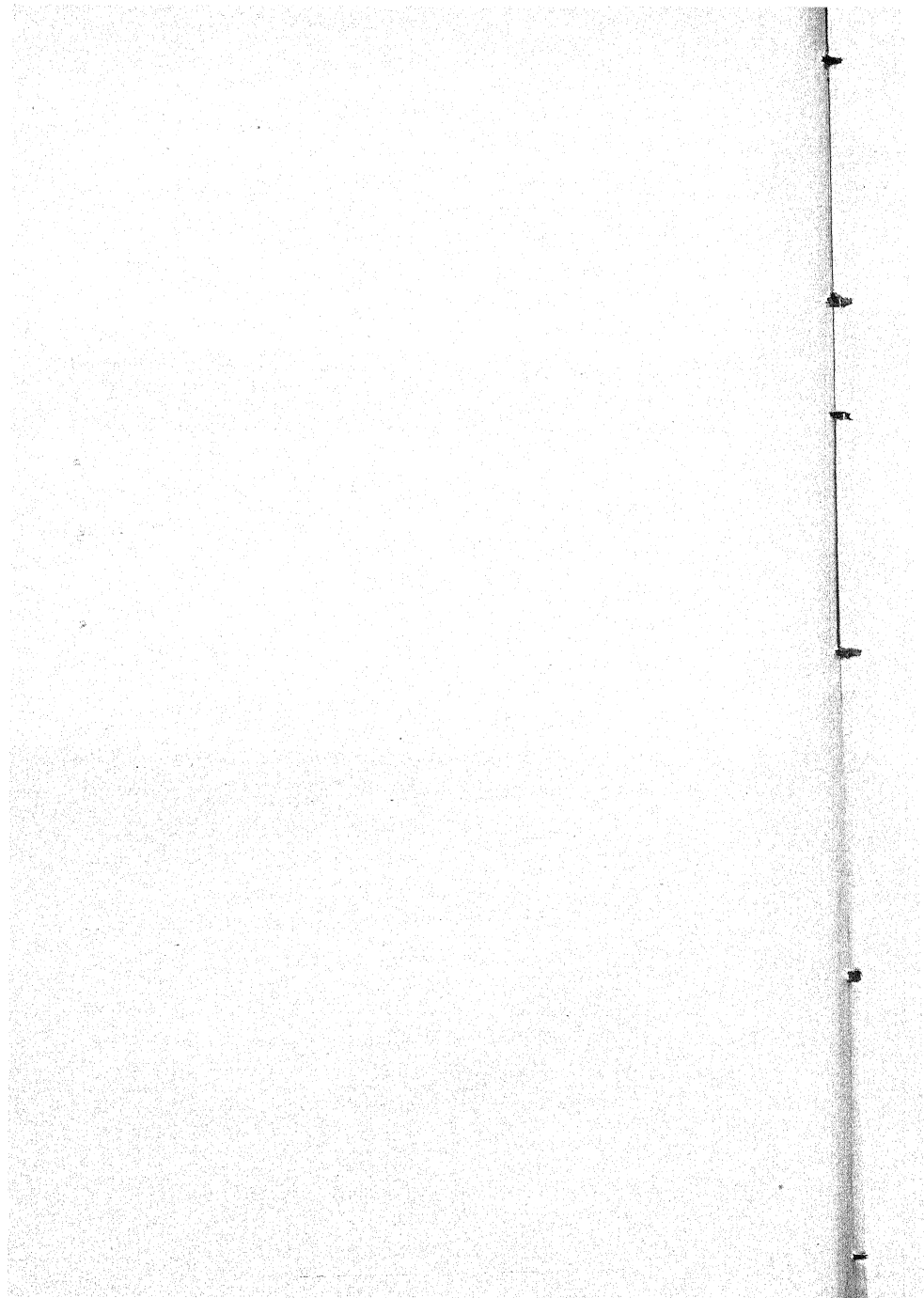
PLATE XV

- 1-8. Painted pottery from Samarra; brown on drab ware; thin slip; No. 8, black on vitrified ware identical with that from el-'Obeid and Shahrein.
9. Painted pot from Muhammadabad, N.E. Persia; brown on hard pale-drab ware with polished face.

PLATE XVI

Painted pottery from N.E. Persia

1. Thick black paint on hard polished hematite red ware.
2. Brown-black on soft drab ware.
3. Grey soapy ware resembling Minyan.
- 4-7. Brown on hard polished drab ware.



INDIAN SECTION

On the Benares Pronunciation of the Sanskrit Visarga¹

By SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Vice-President R.A.S.

IN an article on the representation of tones in Oriental languages (*JRAS.*, 1920, pp. 475 ff.), I pointed out that the so-called Vedic accents were the same as the tones found in certain Indo-Chinese languages, the only difference being one of name. In this connexion I stated that the *visarga* corresponded to the Indo-Chinese glottal check—the “entering tone” of Southern Mandarin and other Chinese dialects.

This last remark received one or two friendly criticisms, some of my correspondents maintaining that the Paṇḍits in India sounded the *visarga*, not as a glottal check, but something like a strongly breathed *h*, almost like (á)*hah*. Thus, according to them, शिवः would be pronounced almost śiváhah. Under certain circumstances this is undoubtedly true, but I still consider that the ordinary pronunciation of *visarga* is nothing but a glottal check. This is confirmed by the fact that in Indo-Chinese languages such as Siamese, which have tones, but are written in this or that alphabet based on Dēva-nāgarī, the glottal check is represented in writing by the sign corresponding to *visarga*. So also in Khmēr, a language without tones but possessing the glottal check, the latter is represented in the same way. From this it is evident that when the learned men who put these languages into

¹ This paper was originally prepared with the intention of its being illustrated by gramophone records. For those who desire to test the statements made in it, it may be mentioned that the records referred to are to be found, in London, at the Royal Asiatic Society, in the India Office Library, in the British Museum Library, and at the School of Oriental Studies; also in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; in the University Library, Cambridge; in the Libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, and of the University of Edinburgh; and, in Paris, at the Institut de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres).

writing heard the *visarga* sounded, it struck their ears as a glottal check, a phenomenon with which they were, of course, familiar. Again, in the modern languages of eastern Hindōstān (with which I may claim some familiarity), when a glottal check has for any reason to be put down in writing, it is represented by the *visarga*. Thus, there is in Bihār a well-known Maithili verse quoted by Paṇḍits to exemplify the various meanings of the word *hari*. It runs :—

हरि गरजल । हरि सुनल ।
 हरि क सबद सुनि हरि चललाह ।
 हरि बाटे भैँटल । हरि हरिः गिरल ।
 हरि क प्रतापे हरि वचलाह ॥

“The sky thundered, the frog heard,

When he heard the voice of the frog the snake came along,
 The peacock met him on the road, the peacock fell upon the snake,

By the might of Hari the frog escaped.”

In the above, in *hari hariḥ girala*, the peacock (*hari*) fell upon the snake (*hariḥ*), the word *hariḥ* is uttered with a smart glottal check, which, as often in Indo-Chinese languages, indicates the elision of a termination. The full word would be the locative *harihi*, which for the sake of metre and emphasis has been shortened to *hari*°. This word *hari*° was written हरिः by the Paṇḍit who gave it to me. In immediate connexion with this we are reminded that *visarga* itself represents the elision of a final *s* or *r*.

It may be asked how the statement about the pronunciation of *śivaḥ* as *śivāḥ* is to be accounted for. I answer because, from one point of view, it is correct. I learnt to speak Sanskrit in Bihār, where the Paṇḍits were all educated in Benares and claimed to use the Benares pronunciation. I never had the privilege of studying in Benares, and all my life in India I imagined that my pronunciation was that of that centre of learning. I was naturally astonished and humiliated when a few years ago, after my return to this country, I discovered

that it was nothing of the sort. I made inquiries, and am now able to speak with renewed confidence. It appears that there are two pronunciations of Sanskrit current in Benares. One of these is that known to Paṇḍits of other parts of India and to Europeans as the "Benares pronunciation". This is really the pronunciation of Marāṭhā Paṇḍits. For the past two hundred years the Marāṭhā Paṇḍits who came to the city with the Pēshwās have imposed their method of pronouncing Sanskrit upon the educated classes, and this is the so-called "Benares pronunciation", although it really belongs to Mahārāṣṭra. On the other hand, there is also current what may be called the Benares indigenous pronunciation. This is a survival of the old Benares pronunciation in general use before the invasion of the Marāṭhās, and, except in Benares itself, where it is used by only a few people, and is even then much mixed with the dominant Marāṭhā pronunciation, it is at the present day the common pronunciation of all eastern Hindōstān. All Paṇḍits who have studied at Benares know also the Marāṭhā pronunciation, and try to use it when "talking fine" or when they want to give the "correct" sound of a particular word; but for ordinary reading or talk, if they are easterners, they employ the indigenous Benares pronunciation in greater purity than in Benares itself. Thus, if I asked a Bihār Paṇḍit what was the sound of the *visarga* in शिवः, he would at once say something like "śivdhaḥ", but in ordinary reading or talk he would give it merely a pretty strong glottal check; indeed, in rapid reading or speaking, he will often omit the check altogether, simply stressing the preceding vowel.

I have myself, in mixing with Paṇḍits, always looked upon this *śivdhaḥ* sound as a relic of Benares school-days. In schools, to prevent certain sounds being neglected, the teaching Paṇḍits have all sorts of expedients to enforce their existence upon the pupils. Thus, they are taught to sound *upadhīmanīya* as *hf*, and they carry this on into later life. If I were to ask a Bihār Paṇḍit what is the word for "flower", he will say

“*pushpa*” without any hesitation, but if I were to ask him what is the pronunciation of the word for “flower”, he will be careful to say “*puhpa*”. Whether this and similar school-sounds are relics of ancient pronunciation or not, I do not pretend to decide.

To return to the sound of *visarga*. There can be no doubt, as you will hear from the following recitation of the opening lines of the *Nala* in the Marāṭhā Benares pronunciation,¹ that it is sounded in two ways. Ordinarily it is a smart glottal check, but in pausa it is given the *śivāhah* sound. This last sound occurs only in pausa, and I would draw particular attention to the fact that this extension of a final syllable is not associated only with *visarga*. You will hear it—

In line 4 associated with long *ā* in *tējasā*.

In line 12 with the short *a* in *Bhārata*.

In line 19 with *t* in *dharmavit*.

In line 19 with *n* in *parākramān*.

In line 23 with *a* in *iva*.

In line 27 with *t* in *kvacit*, and so on.

From the above it will be seen that the double aspiration is not due only to *visarga*, but is also due to the fact of the pause. A pause, in fact, is liable to produce this extension not with *visarga* only, but with any letter. In other words, the extension of the pronunciation of the final syllable of a word is not due to the presence of *visarga*, but to the fact that the word is in pausa. When a Paṇḍit tells you that शिवः is pronounced *śivāhah*, he is instinctively reciting the word in pausa, with a pausal result.

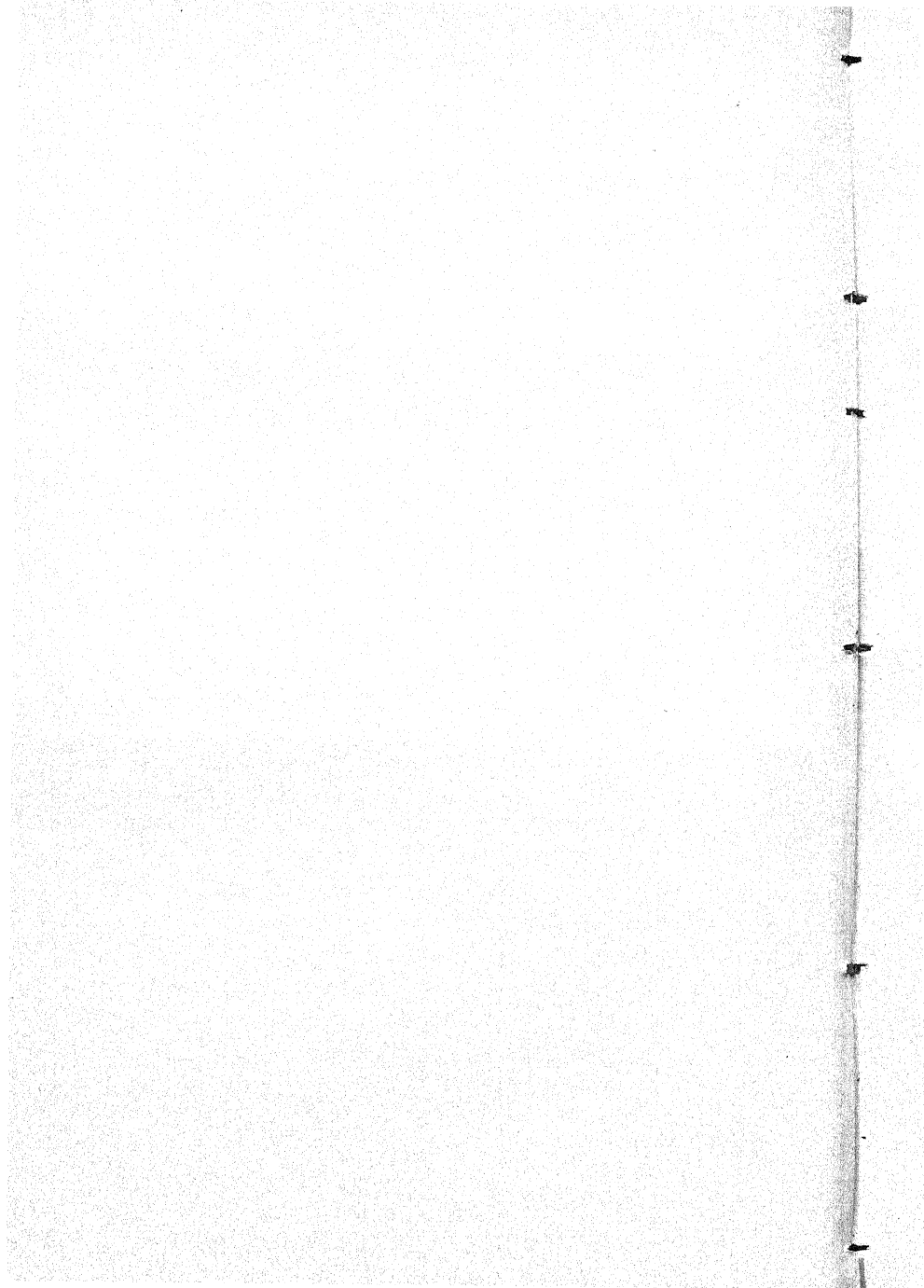
The indigenous Benares pronunciation of *visarga* follows the Marāṭhā pronunciation, but is not so emphatic, nor does the doubling occur with letters other than *visarga*. This seems to show that the indigenous sound given to this letter is not really indigenous, but has been borrowed from the dominant Marāṭhā, and learnt in schools under Marāṭhā influence. The Bihār Paṇḍits have learnt from them to mark the pause in

¹ The number of the record is 6955 AK.

the case of *visarga*, but have not learnt to extend it to other letters. The Marāṭhā influence on the indigenous pronunciation varies with different speakers. In the following passage from *Nala* in the indigenous pronunciation,¹ you will hear the Paṇḍit pronounce the cerebral *ṣ* as *sh*, in the Marāṭhā way. This is not the true indigenous pronunciation, which is *sarvēkhām* for *sarvēṣām* and *khaṣṭha* for *ṣaṣṭha*.²

¹ Record No. 6957 AK.

² Both the above-mentioned records are in verse. If it is desired to hear the pronunciation in prose, No. 6954 AK gives the opening passage of Saṅkara's commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* in the Marāṭhā, and No. 6956 AK in the indigenous pronunciation.



Four Sanskrit Plays

By F. W. THOMAS, M.A., Ph.D., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

PROFESSOR KONOW in his work on the Indian Drama (*Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, ii, 2 D, 1920) gives an account of the Sanskrit *bhāṇa* as follows :

“ A popular origin belongs to the *bhāṇa* also. The subject matter is due to the author's invention ; the *vṛtti* is predominantly the *bhāratī*, the *kaiśikī*, at any rate, being excluded, and of the ‘ junctions ’ (*sandhi*) only the first (*mukha*) and the last (*nirvāṇa*) appear. The leading interests (*rasa*) are the heroic (*vīra*) and the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), which are evoked by the description of heroisms and fortune in love. The whole is enacted by a single actor, who appears as a rake (*viṭa*), and indeed as the rake-in-chief of the city. He describes partly his own experiences, partly those of others, employing *ākāśabhāṣitas*, voices in the air (*ākāśe*), that is, he pretends to see and hear others act and speak and asks ‘ what do you say ? ’, himself then repeating the imagined answer. He accompanies this with the appropriate gestures. It is clear that the *bhāṇa* is a development from the pantomime or mimetic dance, and so it is intelligible that the *lāsyaṅga* is employed.”

Elsewhere Professor Konow informs us that we have only late examples of the *bhāṇa*, although the type is certainly old. The examples, of which he cites a large number, are all from South India, and the earliest is the *Śṛṅgāra-bhūṣaṇa* of Vāmana-Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa, who belonged to the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. When he wrote, Professor Konow was not aware of a publication entitled *Rūpaka-ṣaṭka*, issued in 1918 as volume viii in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*. Of the six plays contained in that volume, the author of which, by name Vatsarāja, belonged to the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, one, entitled *Karpūra-carita*, filling pp. 23-35, is a *bhāṇa*.

It is not, however, of the last-named play that I propose to speak, but of a volume bearing the date 1922 and published late in that year, or early in 1923, at Madras as the first of a *Dakshinabhārati Series of Rare Old Sanskrit Works*, edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A., and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri. The advertisement of "*Chaturbhani*—Consists of four rare old bhanas (amorous farces) by Vararuchi, Īśvaradatta, Syamilaka, and Sudraka" was indeed appetizing, and I lost no time in procuring a copy, which forms the basis of what I have now to say.

The four plays evidently constitute an old group, as appears from a verse occurring at the end of the first :—

"Vararuci, Īśvaradatta, Śyāmilaka and Śūdraka—these four
Were authors of *Bhāṇas*: where is the greatness of
Kālidāsa?"

The edition, which is printed with fair correctness, is not annotated. But in an Introduction of six pages the known and legendary facts concerning the authors are brought together, and the literary references to them and to the plays are rather exhaustively cited. Of the c. 250 verses interspersed some few are traced in anthologies and other works, nor do I think that in this respect much is left to glean. It should be stated that the editors have had access to a number of works which do not yet exist in print, but may be known from a catalogue lately issued by the Madras Government. Such are the *Avanti-sundarī* of Daṇḍin, a *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* by Bhoja, an Anthology by Nilakanṭha, entitled *Kāvyaollāsa*, and the commentary *Abhinava-bhārati* on Bharata, not to mention MS. copies of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*. Most of these, along with other interesting items, belong to the collections made by a research party from the Madras Government Oriental Library, which visited Malabar a few years ago.

The name of Vararuci is one which has been extensively conjured with, and I shall therefore not refer to the well-known facts. The present play, which in the colophon is ascribed to a Vararuci Muni, and which is entitled *Ubhayābhisārikā*,

does not depart from the type outlined by Professor Konow. It is a short work of thirteen pages only, and apart from some happy phrases, as when a rich man is styled "the modern Kuvera" (*adyatana-kāla-Vaiśravaṇa*, p. 5), the most interesting passages are two, of which one refers to the Vaiśeṣika philosophy,¹ and the other describes the brilliance of the city of Pāṭaliputra, which in a popular composition may be an indication of date, since in the seventh century A.D. that city was in a state of decay. The first verse is quoted in Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on the *Kāvyaadarśa*.

The second *bhāṇa*, more extensive (31 pp.) and of higher literary quality, has for author a certain Īśvaradatta, whose name does not occur in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* except as that of the author of a *Vairāgya-prakarana*. According to the editors the play is mentioned by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, while some of the verses appear in a *Kāvyaollāsa*. The passage from Bhoja is quoted in Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṃuṣāsana*, p. 339, l. 18, where the work is cited as an example of *Nidarśana*, and the third verse of the play is in a MS. copy of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* assigned to an Īśvarasena. The title *Dhūrta-viṭa-saṃvāda*, "Dialogue between a 'Sharp' and a Rake," corresponds only partially to the content, which complies with the general formula. The Rake, undertaking a friend's commission, proceeds to the quarter of the Hetaerae, and falls in with various acquaintances, with whom he converses or jests. More than half of the matter consists of a dialogue in the house of a pair of "sharps", Viśvalaka and his wife Sunandā, the former propounding a series of knotty points in the doctrine of love, while the Rake supplies the solutions, ending with an eloquent discourse, in which the traditional delights of heaven are disadvantageously compared with those of a rake's life. The language is extremely lively and full of witty expressions and aptly cited proverbs. The scene is placed in the city of Pāṭaliputra, which is glorified as follows :—

¹ The interlocutor here (p. 6) is a *parivrajikā* (feminine) of that school.

“ With good reason is the fame of the Flower-town established on earth in a degree shared by no other, so that we do not need to particularize when we speak of ‘ the City ’. Many are the lofty dwellings in this town. The abundance of the merchandize, the throngs of people astonish those who see such and such specialities of its prosperity. But why be astonished at that ? There are other prosperous towns. Let me state the unshared merits of this one. For—

“ Givers not hard to find, arts in high esteem, women attractive with courtliness ;

The rich nor besotted nor stingy, the men refined by knowledge ;

The whole people cultured in their talk, mutually appreciative, and grateful for kindness—

Why the very gods might leave their heaven and live happily in The City.”

Elsewhere we read :—

“ The man who sees me does not go his way without a talk, whatever his haste ;

Even in a crowd all these people delightedly make room :

No one detains me too long, for they apprehend some pressing business—

From the *savoir-faire* of the people we see how well founded is the great city’s fame.”

Later it is stated that

“ in respect of dustlessness the main street of Flower-town beats the roofs of mansions.”

As a specimen of the style we may take the following extract from a conversation with a “ young blood ” :—

“ What say you ? ‘ Now I must see my dad.’ What, in that dress ? He will jump at you. What say you ? ‘ If my dad saw me in this condition, he would expire.’ In making you give up an always fond mistress what has he not deserved ? For a young man a father is an embodied headache. A man with a father is never allowed even the sight of a hazard, that

touchstone of men of spirit, in which mutual contention augments the passion for play, and which is embellished with taunts. Not for him even a scent of wine-cups, with their bits of blue lotus, their rising bubbles¹ of mango oil, their agitated waves due to mistresses' sighs, just like dancing peacocks. Not for him so much as a formal appearance at bird-fights, when the company divides into two parties and forms rings, the women sharing their friends' seats, and wagers are thought nothing of in the presence of mistresses. Not for him to go after an infuriated elephant, while the citizens' wives, leaning their fat bosoms out of the arched windows and excitedly shaking their playful fingers, look on with awe. Not for him on hero-nights,² ruddy with lighted torches, to plunge into the king's highway, intent on storming a prison for the sake of a friend, arrayed in 'shorts', his only companion a drawn sword, a man of no mean spirit. Not for him to squander his all for a friend, maddened at the very thought of return, with no alloy of boasting, vexed even by the idea of a return. All that could be borne. But as for these misbegotten fathers, as if they had never been young themselves, keeping their sons for the sake of riches and pelf away from women, at this point I am inclined to take an axe, like a Jāmadagnya bent on the slaughter of the Kṣatriyas, and clear the world of fathers."

Ultimately it appears that the young man's father is determined to get him married; and at this point, while the narrator lifts up his hands in horror at the very idea, he declares his intention of drawing the line.

The third play again, the *Padma-prābhṛtaka*, or "Present of a Lotus", is ascribed to a famous name, that of Śūdraka, whom we know as author of the *Mṛcchakatika*. Here again the editors have us at a disadvantage. For they are aware of a *Vatsarāja-carita*, also composed by Śūdraka, and they are in a position to tell us that his adventures are described by

¹ *Candraka* also denotes the circular marks on a peacock's tail.

² *Vīra-rātri*.

Daṇḍin in an *Avanti-sundarī*, neither of which works has reached Europe or is known except from a catalogue recently issued by the Madras Government. The authorship of the *Mṛcchakatika*, the first four acts of which are proved to be a *rechauffé* of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*, is a familiar topic, in regard to which the opinions of individual scholars and of scholars in general have varied. These views are summarized by Professor Konow in his work on the Indian Drama (§ 76), and I need only say that Dr. Konow's own view is that the author of the play is the Śūdraka of the stories, whom he would place in the third century A.D. We are getting nearer to a solution of this problem; but here it suffices to state that in the *Padma-prābhṛtaka* the names of the persons Mūladeva or Karṇiputra, Nārāyaṇadattā, Devadattā, Vipulā, and Śaśa are meant to connect with a story noticed in the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa and in the *Avanti-sundarī* of Daṇḍin. The story, or at least the nomenclature of the personages, goes back to the *Bṛhat-kathā*; but the form of the name Śaśa (which in Somadeva and Kṣemendra is Śaśin) proves that neither Daṇḍin nor Bāṇa had in view that original: they are referring to some current version, and this again is an indication of date.¹ One verse (No. 4) of the play is cited in Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (p. 198, with slight modifications).

The scene of the *Padma-prābhṛtaka* is laid in the city of Ujjain, of which we have a description as follows:—

“Ah the surpassing beauty of Ujjain, the queen of Avanti (*Avanti-sundarī*), rich in varied merchandize, painted ornament upon Jambū-dvīpa, the cheek of the earth. For here we have—

Holy Vedic recitations;

Clangour of elephants, chariots and horses; strummings of bow-strings;

Things to see; things to hear; discourse of the learned;

¹ For a reference to a play, a *prakaraṇa*, entitled *Śaśi-Kāmadatta*, see M. Lévi's article in *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.-Dec. 1923, p. 215.

All the produce of the four seas bringing business to the shops :

Song, Music, Gaming, Amusement ;

Here gossip of rakes, there the arts one and all ;

And these lines of houses alive with play-birds,
Tinkling with numberless bracelets and girdles."

The persons who appear include a profligate son of a *dharmāsanika*, a poet with a verse on Spring, a parasite, an awkward Pāṇinian grammarian, at war with the Kātantrikas, who uses sesquipedalian words, an old musician who apes youth, a debauched Buddhist monk, a lady in love with a Maurya prince who is away fighting, a girl playing ball (a truly charming description), an actor, and the personages of the main story, whose reconciliation is effected by the present of a lotus. The play accordingly touches on many sides of Indian life, and it may truly be said that it touches nothing that it does not adorn. There is, however, nothing to prove definitely that it is by the author of the *Mṛcchakatika* : on the other hand, I have found no indications of the contrary.

As a specimen we may cite an interview (pp. 14-16) with a dissolute Buddhist monk :—

" Who is this man covered up in a soiled cloak and shrinking into himself, as he comes hastily out of a Hetaera's courtyard ? Ah ! in his haste he has let fall, I see, the end of a yellow-stained robe. Ho ! this is our recluse of the abbey, the vile Buddhist monk Śāṅkhalaka. Oh ! the immaculateness of the Buddha's teaching, befouled by such evil monks, such vain shavelings, and yet held in honour every day. However, the crow's droppings do not defile the water of the holy place. He has seen me and made off, hiding himself. Good. If a shot of my tongue can reach him, he won't go intact. I'll accost him. (Pointing.) Monastery-vampire, where are you going, like an owl afraid of daylight ? What say you ? " I come just now from the monastery." Truly, I know your reverence's monastic life. Rascal, where are you off to in a fright, like a crane whose pond is the Hetaera's quarter ? Are

you on an amatory alms-round ? What say you ? “Sangha-dāsikā is grieving for the loss of her mother, and I am come to support her with Buddha’s words.” Ejected from your mouth, the word of Buddha appears to me like a drunken hiccup. For shame !

Whether from folly or even accidentally, a monk who enters a Hetaera’s courtyard

Is under a cloud, like an “ Om ” prefixed to the Sūtras of Dattaka.

What say you ? “ Pardon me, one must be kind to all beings.” Truly, your reverence is ever kind ; your abjuring of desire will bring you to Parinirvāṇa.’ He essays a salaam. ‘ What say you ? “ Goodbye, I seek release.”¹ Very well. But don’t waste your labour. For you release is no easy matter. What say you ? “ I must go ; untimely eating is also to be avoided.” Ha ! ha ! ha ! you leave out nothing. Only this was wanting : the impeccable monk is outstaying his meal-time. Vanish. The false shaveling blushes at a painted ringworm. Go, you are a Buddha. Hullo ! The cur has vanished. So where now to wash my eyes from the defilement of looking upon a vile Buddhist monk ? ”

I have kept to the last what is in fact the last play in the book : it is also far the longest, filling forty-eight pages. It is entitled *Pāda-tāḍitaka* “ The Blow with the Foot ”, and the author’s name is given as Ārya-Śyāmilaka, the northern poet, son of Viśveśvara-datta. With the latter name, a common one, nothing is to be done, or rather one thing is to be done. For the editors point out that there are two known Śyāmilakas, of whom one is named by Mahima-Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Vyakti-viveka*, as a mahāhavi and his teacher. They regard it as improbable that he is identical with our poet ; but they might have used a stronger expression, since Mahima-Bhaṭṭa’s teacher was the son of Dhairya. Our Śyāmilaka and his play are mentioned, as they state, by Abhinava-Gupta, which

¹ *Mucye ’ham* (p. 15), apparently a pious formula in leave-taking. In the *Pāda-tāḍitaka* (p. 23) we have *mucyeya(m)*, a misprint ?

makes him certainly earlier than A.D. 1000 ; and three verses from the play are cited under his name in Kṣemendra's *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* and *Suṛtta-tilaka*, and also, according to the editors, in Kuntala's *Vakrokti-jīvita* (c. A.D. 1000 : the verse is now found in Prof. S. K. De's edition, i, 86). Thus the term "northern" is rightly taken to mean "Kashmirian".

The story of the *Pāda-tāḍitaka* is concerned with a certain Viṣṇunāga, surnamed Tauṇḍikoki, who is attached to a Saurāṣṭra girl, named Madanasenikā. In a lover's quarrel he falls at her feet to ask pardon, whereupon she kicks him on the head. This touches the dignity of the young man, who is the son of a *mahāmātra*, a secretary (*śāsanādhikṛta*) of the king. He reproaches her vehemently (p. 3) :—

"This head, whose crest my mother with careful hand tied tight,
Which my father kissed, as I bowed before him, saying
'a good boy',
Which the twice-born sprinkled with holy water and scraps of flowers,
Your foot has been set upon it in pride, and my dignity slighted."

Spurning the startled girl's appeal, he goes off in a huff. The Rake, on hearing the story, is indignant at the young pedant, unworthy of so great an honour. The next morning the reporter of the incident goes to a Brāhman establishment¹ to get a bad dream dispelled (pp. 5 sqq.).

"At that Brāhman establishment I found Viṣṇunāga arrived before me. With dishevelled hair and a woe-begone expression he was telling his story: 'I am he; such things have I done. May you Elders of the Triple Learning help in me one whose head has been abased by a Hetaera's foot.' Upon this the Brāhmins looked at each other, while their quivering cheeks betrayed amusement; after an instant's thought they said, 'Ah! dear Sir! We are acquainted with the

¹ *Brāhmaṇa-pīṭhikā*.

Moralia (*dharma-sāstra*) of Manu, Yama, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Śaṅkha and Likhita, Āpastamba, Hārīta, Pracetas, Devala, Vṛddha-Gārgya, and other doctors ; but nowhere do we find an expiation of a major sin of this kind.' Whereat, still more discomfited, he lifted up his two hands and wailed, ' Please, please, O gods on earth, do not abandon me, as if I were a fourth-caste man.'

' An Ārya am I ; my life is pure, my family good ;
I have toiled at grammar and the rules of logic :
A king's secretary am I and no common person :
Help a pure man at his wit's end. I am your suppliant.'

" At these words in that company—

Some, saying ' this is an ox ', nudged one another with their elbows ;

' A madman, perhaps,' said some, and stood still and gazed at him long with smiling faces ;

' Love bewitched,' said others, and cried out, putting a straw between him and them :

Some again pitied the girl herself, saying ' her sins have found her out '.

" The assembly being in that state, the Brāhmanas at a loss what to do, Viṣṇunāga wailing aloud in his disappointment at finding no expiation, a Brāhman named Bhavasvāmin of the Śaṅḍilya school, a man of humorous character, son of an Ācārya, himself an Ācārya, trained in Policy (*Dandanīti*), Philosophy (*Ānvikṣikī*) and other sciences, highly proficient also in all the arts, eloquent, surrounded with a troupe of pupils, lifted up his right hand, and, with a voice bubbling with laughter, greeted the assembly and said, ' Come, come, Viṣṇunāga, be not dismayed : have done with despair. We have this saying of the law, " The rules of country, class, lineage, confession, and custom, in so far as they conflict not with holy writ, are authority." Call together, therefore, the class of rakes, and from the head rakes inquire the expiation. They will deliver you from this sin.' This speech was

greeted by the assembly with cries of 'good', and dangling of uplifted fingers. Viṣṇunāga expressed himself as highly favoured and went away. And you were yourself appointed to call the meeting of rakes."

The interlocutor disclaims the honour, but is supplied with his undeniable titles and a definition of a rake, as follows:—

"The man who, when his head has been honoured by the
lotus-feet of fair ladies,
Carries it highly pleased, as if coronetted,
Is proclaimed by the learned in rakedom a rake, and also
whose money,
Like water, the thirsty with both hands take to themselves."

An inventory of rakes is next drawn up, one name calling for remark.

"What say you? 'As to all the rest, good. But Dayitaviṣṇu, is he approved by you as a rake?' No question. What say you? 'What, the king's half-brother, the poet, in command of the troops?' Certainly, precisely so. What say you? 'It can't be—

'The man, who despite the king's favour shrinks back,
Who with ceremony (*maṅgala*) goes to his bed and gets up,
Who from worshipping the gods has his clothes all aroma'd
with bdellium,

And a triad of callosity hardening forehead and knees.'

'Moreover,

'From temple to palace, from palace to temple he goes:

Thus in constant attendance on these two he passes his days.'

'He a rake'!"

This also is proved, and the narrator goes on his way, meeting, avoiding, complimenting, exposing a curious selection of the denizens of Sārvabhauma, the imperial city. When at length he arrives at the place of assemblage, he finds a busy scene in the house of the head rake, Bhaṭṭi Jīmūta (pp. 41 sqq.).

"Well is it said 'Great men, great undertakings'. For

here now behold five-hued flowers scattered loose, tied on in bunches, handing round of scents, lighting of lamps, pronouncing of welcome, sending away of conveyances, bustle displayed, prelude of songs, strumming of music, offering of hands, smoothness of talk, affectionate embraces, clasping of friends, courteous salaams, touching of backs, smittings accompanied by raised brows, smelling of heads, graceful standings still, engaging sittings down, presentation of sandal, smearings of paint-marks, layings out of unguents, scattering of powders, joking of rakes, acknowledgements of ladies.

“Like Wishing-trees for the Hetaera folk, here shine
Heroes in action instant, ready to fling their all,
Whose very boyhood’s cudgel-fights the aged,
As of Suyodhana and Vrkodara, loudly tell.”

When the sad case of Viṣṇunāga is solemnly laid before them, they demand the name of the girl.

“What, what say your honours? ‘Who now is the girl, so ignorant of other men, whose disgraceful outbreak is thus exposed?’ Why, it is the lady Madanasenikā of Surāṣṭra. The rakes seem shocked. ‘Fortunately,’ they say, ‘there is no one here.’”¹

“Shaking their hands, hiding their smiles, saying fie! fie!,
drawing grave visages,
The rakes plunge in thought, regarding each other, as
moved with compassion.”

Sighing deeply, and with tears in his eyes, the presiding rake calls upon the narrator to proceed. He makes his appeal to the company:—

“Never more may he win his stake in a game;
May he heed his mother, and approach his father demurely;
Boiled milk be his drink, and sweets let him eat besotted;
A husband may he be, who here speak aught ineptly.”

¹ i.e. to hear so shocking a story!

Thus admonished, the members of the company successively raise their right hands and ask leave to speak. One proposes an expiation for the girl herself, who had set her foot upon the head of such an ox ; another would have him dragged by her girdle ; a third denounces this suggestion and proposes a flogging with her ear-ornament ; Gupta and Maheśvaradatta, those writers of inspired verses on the lines of the Vararuci *kāvya* (as we might “ on the lines of Kennedy’s *Latin Grammar Rules* ”),¹ suggest respectively that his head should be washed with her foot-water and that he should drink the same ; another proposes that his dishonoured head be shorn. But the general sentiment applauds the proposal of the president himself, namely, that Viṣṇunāga long retain his locks untouched by the soft hands of ladies, and that, as to the heroine, she should be required to set her foot upon the president’s own head in the sight of Viṣṇunāga.

It will, I think, be admitted that these compositions, in spite of the unedifying character of their general subject and even in spite of occasional vulgarities, have a real literary quality. They display a natural humour and a polite, intensely Indian, irony which need not fear comparison with that of a Ben Jonson or a Molière. The language is the veritable ambrosia of Sanskrit speech. Ordinarily we do not quite realize in what a degree the Sanskrit literature is a high literature of courts and serious circles, an observation which applies not only to learned treatises and to such works as Bāṇa’s *Kādambarī*, but even to the *Daśa-kumāra-carita* of Daṇḍin and the polite drama. Here we have a good natural and easy Sanskrit (for Prākṛit passages are very few)² of a conversational tone, treating satirically of ordinary incidents and scandalous gossip. The writers claim to be poets and insert many well-turned verses, though they appeal to a

¹ A *Vārarucaṃ Vākyu-kāvyaṃ* of this nature was published at Cochin in 1876.

² See pp. 21, 23.

particular audience. Śyāmilaka writes at the beginning of the *Pāda-tāḍitaka* (p. 2) :—

“Depart, pray, you people of lives like cranes and cats,
Respectable counsellors, quietist pious folk :
Stay, painters and poets and experts in frolic and arts ;
No flies with its honey the concourse of ‘ sharps ’ would
drink.

The hermit attains not by weeping his soul’s release ;
Gay chatter is not to the prospect of heaven a bar :
Then laugh, O ye wise, if ye please, and be easy of heart ;
Away with the solemn pretences of pharisaism.”

Philologically also the language is decidedly interesting. A large number of words and phrases must be added, or furnished with new references, in our dictionaries ; let me cite *diṇḍi* (Pā., pp. 15, 16, etc.), apparently a Buddhist painter of signs, etc. ; *dhāntra* (passim), “ fellow ” ; *caukṣa* (P., pp. 10, etc. ; Pā., 9–10) ; *cākika* (Pā., p. 2) ; *śīphara* (P., p. 9 ; Dh. p. 10 ; cf. Daśakumāra-carita) ; *kṣaṇika* (Dh., p. 14), “ having a moment to spare ” ; *pradhyāti* (Pā., p. 29), “ judge ” or “ lost in thought ” ; *pāritoṣika* (Pā., p. 34), “ douceur ” ; *sukha-prāśnika* (Pā., pp. 14, 25, etc.), “ paying a visit of ceremony ” ; *śaundīrya* (P., p. 21), “ hardihood ” ; *devānāṃ priya* (P., p. 4 ; Pā., p. 36), “ your worship ” ; *viśaṃvādana* (P., p. 20), “ accident ” or “ breakage ”. We have also such known official titles as *mahāmātra* (P., p. 4, etc. ; Pā., p. 4), *mahāpratihāra* (U., p. 3), *kumārāmātya-adhikaraṇa* (Pā., p. 28), *prāḍvivāka* (Pā., p. 9), with others such as *śrāvāṇika* (Pā., p. 30 = “ witness ”), *kāṣṭhaka* (Pā., p. 30). A number of expressions, such as *kaurakucī* (Pā., p. 2), “ hypocrisy,” *purobhāgin* (Pā., p. 11, and P., p. 6), *paurobhāgya*, *kardanena na mām dhaukitum arhasi* (Pā., pp. 3–4), and *unmucyamāna-bāla-bhāva* (P., p. 3) are known to me chiefly from the works of Bāṇa.

The "Second Evocation" in the Manichaean System of Cosmogony

By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Professor of Indo-Iranian
Languages in Columbia University, New York City

IN his philosophical speculations regarding the original scheme of the universe, Mānī portrayed with poetic imagination the primordial struggle between the powers of Light and Darkness that formed the dualistic basis of his system of religion. When the primeval attack upon the Realm of Light was made by the King of Darkness, the Sovereign of Light "evoked", or emanated, three successive evocations in the form of divine personifications, designed to serve first in combating the onslaught of Evil, and then in weakening the pernicious effects of its force.¹

The *first* of these evocations by the Godhead, as is well known, was the Mother of Life, who in turn called into being Primal Man as a combatant to be sent to give battle against the host of Darkness. The *second* evocation, less familiar in part, comprises three figures that were summoned into existence to aid in rescuing the latter celestial prototype of mankind, after he had been taken captive in the primordial abyss of Darkness before the present world was created. The *third* evocation is represented particularly in the form of a Messenger (Mithra), who helps later in reducing the demoniacal influence of the dark powers. The purpose of the present paper, which is laid before our Society on the occasion of its Centenary Celebration, is to deal with the *second* triad of emanations or hypostases, who play the chief rôle in the second scene of the opening act of the great Manichæan drama of the universe.

¹ The characteristic feature of the grouping as triads in these evocations has been thought possibly to exhibit traces of Babylonian or old "Chaldæan" influence upon Mānī. See F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme* I, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, Brussels, 1908, pp. 20, 34, regarding Anū, Bēl, Ēa, and Shamash, Sîn, Ishtar. Cf. Jackson, *JAOS.* xliv, 61.

We may assume as known the various Manichæan sources which deal with the initial stage of the conflict which left Primal Man temporarily defeated, with the loss of his panoply of light which was robbed (lit. "devoured") by the demons of Darkness, and "imprisoned" in such a condition as to deprive him of his reason.¹ The sources descriptive of the second scene in this dramatic allegory are naturally the same, but the principal one with which to begin is the Syriac Scholia on Manichæism by Theodore bar Khoni; and with this as a basis, we may afterwards combine material from the Turfan Manichæan Documents themselves, the Fihrist in Arabic, and the other sources. Referring to this Second Evocation the Syriac writer bar Khoni (quoting the words of Mānī) says ²:—

"When Primal Man regained his senses (lit. 'mind') he raised a prayer seven times to the Father of Greatness (i.e. the Godhead), and He evoked a Second Evocation, (namely) the Friend of Light³; and the Friend of Light evoked the Great Bān⁴; and the Great Bān evoked the Living Spirit⁵."

As it is with this second triune group that we have here to do, we may state at the outset that it is hoped to show (1) that the Friend of Light is to be identified with the god

¹ In addition to the more familiar sources compare also the graphic account preserved in the Petrograd Manichæan Fragment in Turfan Pahlavi, S. 9 recto, a1-b30, reproduced by Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii, pp. 8, 9, in *Bulletin Acad. Impér. des Sciences*, St. Petersburg, 1912, and translated by Jackson, *Studies in Zoroastrianism and Manichæism* (to be published later).

² See H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaites, avec extraits du Livre des Scholies de Theodore bar Khouni*, pp. 127-8 (text), 186 (transl.), Paris, 1898; and compare Cumont, *Recherches*, i, p. 20. An English translation of the Manichæan section of bar Khoni has been prepared for publication later by my Assistant, Dr. A. Yohannan, with notes by myself.

³ Lit. "the Beloved of the Lights", Syr. *l' Habbīb^h Nahirē*. The word for light in Syriac is in the plural; cf. Avestan *raocā* "light(s)" from sing. *raocah-*.

⁴ Syr. *l'Bān Rabbā*. For spelling see Section 2 below.

⁵ Syr. *l'Rūhā Hayyā*. It is not necessary here to add the sentence which names the "Five Sons" whom the Living Spirit in turn called forth, as that detail is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

Narēsap in the Manichæan Middle Persian texts from Turfan ; (2) that the "Great Ban" (long a mooted problem) is primarily the Architect and Builder, but that in true Oriental fashion, as elsewhere, he assigns the execution of most of his designs to (3) the Living Spirit, Ζῶν Πνεῦμα, Spiritus Vivens or Spiritus Potens, who, in the Greek Christian writers, often bears the title Demiurge. These three personified agents in the Second Evocation may now be taken up in their respective order.

1. THE FRIEND OF LIGHT

The "Friend of Light" (or, more exactly translated, "Beloved of the Lights,") happens to be mentioned only once (*l^e Ḥabbīb^h Nahirē*) by Theodore bar Khoni in the passage translated above ; but he is known under this title, or by other designations, in the actual Manichæan documents and in the Fihrist of an-Nadīm as will be shown.

For example, in the extant Manichæan texts from Turfan he appears as the "Friend of Lights" (T. Phl. *Rōšanān Friyānag*) in the Pahlavi Fragment M. 4a, line 18, end (= Müller, *Handschriften-reste aus Turfan*, ii, p. 52, mid.), in the section of a long hymn which is marked in rubrics at this point by the caption the "Light(s) of God" (RŌŠANĀN 'I BĀ').¹ Yet in this particular passage there are not given any additional attributes to define the character of the Friend of Light in further detail.

More definite information, at least for assigning to the Friend of Light the foremost position in the triad of the Second Evocation, is obtainable through another Turfan Fragment, in Soghdian, numbered M. 583 in the Berlin collection, though available as yet only in a preliminary translation.²

Now in this Soghdian Fragment (M. 583), even if its con-

¹ For this correct division of *rōšanānībā* (written together), see Bartholomae, *Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch*, p. 78, middle.

² The text itself of this important piece still awaits publication, but an initial translation of it by Andreas is available in Reitzenstein, *Die Göttinger Psyche*, p. 4, Heidelberg, 1917.

nexion is not wholly clear, we have a list of the divine beings, apparently when assembling in connexion with the Final Judgment, which closely parallels that of the original evocations at the beginning of things, as recorded by Theodore bar Khoni. Thus, to the (1) first group belong respectively the Supreme God, the Mother of the Pious (i.e. Mother of the Living),¹ and Ormazd (Primal Man) with his five sons (the elements, Murlâspand); to the (2) second group belong the Friend of Light, the God *Bâm*, and the Living Spirit with his five sons; to the (3) third belong Mithra (Soghd. *Mišē*), the Light Maiden, the Column of Light,² with the Great Soul (*Manūhmēd Vazurg*, macrocosm or prototype soul?).³ The Fragment continues immediately with a review of the gods, grouped according to the different regions of the universe from which they are presumed to appear respectively at the end of the world. Even though the entire connexion of the piece may not at present be certain, it is evident that the passage offers really few difficulties in translation, and its contents are as follows:—

“(1) From the north: the Mother of the Pious [appearing ?] from the spirit; ⁴ the God Ormazd from the shining height (?); ⁴ the Elements (‘Murlâspandt’) ⁵ from

¹ The designation “Mother of the Pious” is used in Soghdian for the more familiar “Mother of the Living”.

² Observe that the well-known Column of Light, here associated with the Maiden of Light, rather breaks the threefold order, and is not mentioned in the list that directly follows, and in which Jesus is mentioned immediately before the Light Maiden.

³ Until the original text becomes available, one must be content with a rendering of the German version by Andreas as stated. But the main points may be gathered in any case.

⁴ The “spirit” represents that of the Godhead and the Ethereal Realm; “shining height” is the Light Air; “blessed earth” the Light Earth. For the shining height cf. “the Fathers in the Height” (used of the gods) in Theodore bar Khoni, ed. Pognon, pp. 131 (text), 192 (transl.); cf. Cumont, *Recherches*, i, 48, and note 5.

⁵ So spelt by Andreas (loc. cit.) for the more common spelling *Mardāspanje* (cf. Av. Amesha Spentas); see Müller, *Soghdische Texte*, i, p. 84, line 11, and p. 97, in *Abhandlungen d. kgl. Preuss. Ak.*, Berlin, 1913.

the [blessed] earth. (2) From the west: the Friend of Light(s) from the spirit; the God Bām¹ from the shining height (?); the Living Spirit from the blessed earth. (3) From the east: the God Mithra (*Mišē*) from the spirit; the Twelve Sons of God from the shining height (?); and the God Spondārmūt² from the blessed earth. (4) From the south: ³ Jesus from the spirit; the Light Maiden from the shining height (?); and the Great Manūhmēd (Macrocosm or Prototype Soul ?) from the blessed earth.”⁴

From this passage it is evident, as before, that the Friend of Light heads the triad that forms the Second Evocation, and he is not to be confused in any way with Mithra (*Mišē*, Legatus Tertius, Πρεσβ[ε]υτῆς ὁ Τρίτος), who is mentioned separately and independently in the third group that follows after the one in which he is included.

Still further light is thrown on the subject, moreover, by a paragraph in another Tufan Fragment, M. 2, written in North-Iranian, or Arsacid, Pahlavi.⁵ This paragraph (embedded in M. 2), which forms part of an account of a vision beheld by Mānī's pupil Amū, describes the gods as standing in adoration before the Supreme Deity, and reads as follows:—

“(1) There stand in prayer and praise to the Ruler of Paradise, first the God Ormazd (Primal Man) with⁶ the

¹ On the spelling *Bām* by Andreas see below, Section 2.

² So Andreas for the ordinary *Spondārmāt*.

³ This fourth section may possibly allude to an additional “evocation” besides that of the well-known Third Messenger (Mithra) as alluded to above.

⁴ The translation of this passage, as previously stated, is based on the version by Andreas in Reitzenstein, *Die Götter Psyche*, p. 4.

⁵ This portion of M. 2 is translated by Andreas in Reitzenstein, *Die Götter Psyche*, pp. 4–5, but the text itself has not yet been printed, even though two other portions of the text of M. 2 are available in Müller, ii, p. 30, and *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1081.

⁶ Reitzenstein, op. cit., p. 5, n. 1, remarks that the use of the preposition (“mit, zusammen mit”) indicates a close connexion here, and that otherwise the proper names are simply given one after the other. In order to make the passage clearer I have indicated the divisions by inserting numerals and by punctuating.

'last god', the Mother of the Pious ;¹ (2) the Friend of Light [i.e.] the God Narēsaf, the God Bām, the Living Spirit; (3) Jesus Zīvā ('the bright'),² the Maiden of Light, and the Great Manūḥmēd."³

By combining this particular Turfan Pahlavi passage with the material cited above from the Soghdian, and by keeping in mind the three separate evocations recorded by the Syriac writer Theodore bar Khoni, we can deduce from the Manichæan Fragments themselves the following scheme so far as concerns the three separate divinities in each of the triune groups under consideration :—

- I. 1. The Supreme God.
2. Mother of the Pious (or of the Living).
3. Ormazd (Primal Man).
- II. 1. Friend of Light, Narēsaf.
2. Bām.
3. Living Spirit.
- III. 1. Mithra (Mihr, Mišē).
2. Light Maiden.
3. Great Manūḥmēd.⁴

From the fact that in the last-quoted Turfan Pahlavi Fragment the name Narēsaf is added as an explanation directly

¹ We are probably to identify the "last god" directly with the Mother of the Pious, as an appositive. In the account of the fate of the Manichæan Elect after death, the soul in the last stages of its heavenly journey passes from Primal Man in the sun to the Mother of the Living and then merges into the Eternal Light of the Ruler of Paradise.

² Observe that here the usual third leader, Mithra (Mišē, Tertius Legatus), is omitted and that Jesus, etc., occupy the place. Compare the earlier footnote on p. 140, n. 2.

³ Translated after Andreas in Reitzenstein, *Die Götter Psyche*, pp. 4, 5. With reference to the Friend of Light (Narēsaf) uniting with other gods in a prayer to the Supreme Deity in this passage, we may compare what is stated below in regard to a petition made to him himself (as Messenger of Good Tidings), and his kindred divine associates, by the Five Angels in a similar, though somewhat different, situation as described in the Fihrist passage quoted below, towards the end of Section 2.

⁴ Notice that in Group III the last two gods are missing in bar Khoni; also that the order of the Mother and Ormazd in Group I is reversed in Frag. M. 2.

after the Friend of Light, it becomes certain that we are now entitled to identify the Friend of Light with Narēsaf (or Narēsap), which is the T.Phl. form of the Avestan Nairyō-sanha (Av. *Nairyō-saṇha*, lit. "whose announcement is for mankind"), that angelic personage who is closely associated with the divine fire in Zoroastrianism and serves as a bearer of messages to men.¹ Elsewhere in the Fragments Narēsap appears with a title of deification as "the divinity Narēsap" (*bag Narēsap*) and is similarly alluded to in the caption of a hymn, which begins: "Praise ye the God Narēsap, that Great Light" (NARĒSAP YAZD 'istāvēd 'ō vazurg rōšan).² Our results seem therefore conclusive for asserting that the Friend of Lights and Narēsap (himself a "Great Light") are one and the same divine personage.

Furthermore, it is most likely that the Friend of Light (Narēsap) is also alluded to as "the God of the Light Realm" (*rōšanšah[r yazd]*) in the Turfan Pahlavi eschatological passage, M. 470 recto, ll. 14, 15 (= Mü. ii, p. 20), translated below (Section 2, end), in which connexion he appears out of the east at the time of the final World-Conflagration, as there described, when all the chief gods assemble. His position in the list, as coming directly after Ōhrmazd and before the God of the New Realm (i.e. Ban), would support this interpretation, and will become clearer in the course of the discussion that follows in the later section with regard to the Great Ban. Thus much from the Fragments and bar Khoni.

Additional information as to the Friend of Light may be gathered in like manner from the Arabic account of Manichæism preserved in an-Nadīm's Fihrist. In describing

¹ See Jackson, in *Grundriss iran. Philol.*, ii, 641, 642. In view, therefore, of the material now available we are entitled to give up the suggestion made by Cumont, *Recherches*, i, 58-63, to identify with Neryosang the Third Messenger (Πρεσβ[ε]υτῆς ὁ Τρίτος, *Legatus Tertius* of Evodius). This latter personage is to be identified with Mithra; and thus the Friend of Lights would be the Second Messenger, Primal Man being the first.

² See Frag. M. 176 recto, l. 13, and M. 32 verso, caption with l. 1 (= Mü. ii, p. 60, end; p. 63, middle).

the imprisonment and rescue of Primal Man the Fihrist (quoting from Mānī) states that—

“The King of the Paradise of Light sent other gods after him (i.e. after Primal Man) and liberated him and overcame Darkness; and the one who was sent after the [Primal] Man is called the Friend of the Lights (*Ḥabīb-al-Nuwār*). He went down, and Primal Man became freed from the hellish things, together with that which had been caught and fettered by the Spirits of Darkness.”¹

Thus the Friend of Light, as an envoy, was instrumental in at least loosening the bonds of darkness by which Primal Man was encompassed, and his release follows through the agency of the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit who unite in restoring Primal Man to his celestial abode.²

This characteristic of the Friend of Light as a beneficent emissary helps to identify and explain him as the “Messenger of Good Tidings”, or “Announcer of Salvation” (Arabic *al-Bashīr*, “der Heilsbote”),³ under which title he is also mentioned three times in the Fihrist. Thus when Adam, like Primal Man, is overcome by darkness and lust, the Five Angels of Light join in petitioning the “Messenger of Good Tidings” (*al-Bashīr*), the Mother of Life, Primal Man also, and the Living Spirit—this is the well-known company—to send some one to redeem Adam and thus help towards the salvation of the future human race.⁴ The petition is answered

¹ An-Nadīm's Fihrist, in Flügel, *Mani*, p. 55, l. 2 (text), 88 (transl.); cf. large edition of the Fihrist, ed. Flügel-Roediger-Müller, i, p. 329, l. 28; also the notes on the text, etc., op. cit., ii, p. 165, n. 5, and p. 167, n. 1.

² For references to this latter event (including those recorded from the Fihrist in the preceding note) see Jackson, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1924, xliv, p. 64, n. 14.

³ Regarding this Arabic noun compare Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 190, *bašīr*, “a messenger of good news.” The verb *bašār*, “relating news,” from which this substantive is derived, has especially a good sense; see also Arab. *bušrā*, “communicating good news; happy tidings,” in Steingass, op. cit., p. 189.

⁴ See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 59 (text), 91 (transl.), with p. 250, n. 161 (“der Bote froher Kunde, Kündler froher Botschaft, Heilsverkünder”); Kessler, *Mani*, p. 393 (“der Heilsbote”).

by their uniting in sending Jesus, "whom a God accompanied." This accompanying god may well have been likewise the Friend of Lights himself as a harbinger.¹

Furthermore, in the special passage of the Fihrist which deals with Manichæan eschatology and corresponds closely with the T.Phil. description of the Last Days (as referred to above and translated below in Section 2), it is plain that the Friend of Light, as emissary, is again spoken of as *al-Bashīr*, "Messenger of Good Tidings," who comes from the east at the end of the world amid the same glorious company of gods as at the beginning.²

In the same manner also is doubtless to be explained why the pious Manichæan, according to the Fihrist, is enjoined constantly to raise his "prayer to the Messenger of Good Tidings" (*al-Bashīr*), as containing an allusion in general to this heavenly mediator for mankind.³

As a whole, the god who is the Friend of Light(s), Narēsap, and Messenger of Good Tidings, may be regarded as one who holds a high rank in the Manichæan pantheon, standing next after Primal Man (Ormazd) and heading the Second Evocation, in which he immediately precedes the Great Ban, who is to be described in the succeeding paragraphs.

¹ I have since found a similar view to mine in Reitzenstein, *Das Mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 90, n. 1, "wahrscheinlich der Freund des Lichtes."

² See transl. below, p. 148, and compare Kessler, *Mani*, p. 400, bottom ("Heilsbote von Osten"), as a correction of Flügel, p. 101, bottom ("Bewegung vom Osten").

³ See Flügel, p. 65, l. 19 (text), 97 (transl.). Remember that Flügel, n. 344, pp. 310, 311, did not have the new material when he suggested to identify the Announcer of Good Tidings ("Heilverkünder") with the angel Taum in the Fihrist. Nor could Mānī himself (op. cit., p. 311) be looked upon more than as a later representative of such a Messenger. Furthermore, with reference to Narēsap in general, it may be added that, since the appearance of the Fragments above cited, we may now transfer to him much of what was said by Cumont, *Recherches*, i, p. 63, n. 4, and p. 64, when he sought to identify Mithra with Nairyōsaŋha (Narēsap); see also footnote above on Πρεσβ[ε]υτης ὁ Τρίτος. Finally, we may exclude Srōsh from any claim to this particular title of Messenger of Good Tidings (Narēsap). He has other duties.

2. THE "GREAT BAN" (BĀN)

The "Great Ban", the middle member of the Second Evocation as recorded by Theodore bar Khoni, has long presented a problem with regard to identification. The intimation given above may now be elaborated so as to help towards a solution of the crux.

In the first place, although the name or title appears in slightly different forms in the several sources involved, it seems certain that Ban, or Bān ("the Great Ban"), in Theodore bar Khoni's Scholia¹ is the same as the god Ban (Bān), "Builder" in Saint Ephraim's Syriac Refutations,² and to be identified with Bam (Bām), however spelled, in the Soghdian Fragment M. 583 and the T.Phil. Fragment M. 2, both of which have been quoted in Section 1 of the present paper,³ and with Bannā', the architect, in the Fihrist, as brought out below. The intermediate position which this Manichæan god holds between the Friend of Light and the Living Spirit in each of the lists that have been quoted, assures the correctness of this identification in general. Details follow.

As to his characteristics it will next be recalled that according to Theodore bar Khoni the Great Ban is charged with the ideal construction of the "New Earth" that is to play a part in connexion with the End of the World.⁴ This sufficiently shows the celestial side of his functions as

¹ See Pognon, pp. 127, 128 (text), 187, 190 (transl.). Thus, "Bān," Syr. *B n*. Consult also Cumont, *Recherches*, i, 20, n. 4, and p. 37, n. 4. Consult also next note.

² See S. Ephraim, *Prose Refutations*, tr. C. W. Mitchell, i, pp. xxx, xlvii, lxxv (transl.) = text, p. 3, l. 32; p. 39, l. 20; p. 94, l. 2. Mitchell transliterates the name (Syr. *B n*) as Bān throughout. Similarly F. C. Burkitt as Bān, in *Journal of Religion*, ii, 274, Chicago, 1922. Compare preceding note. Therefore apparently Ban or Bān, according as one vocalizes the text; but Bān is preferable.

³ Andreas (in Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, pp. 4, 5) transcribes the Soghdian name as Bām; this accords with the spelling "Spondārmūt", which he adopts for the familiar Spendārmāt. See preceding note, end.

⁴ See Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, p. 190, and cf. Cumont, i, p. 37.

architect, as distinguished from the more material activity of the Living Spirit.¹

In the light of this rather spiritualized rôle we may turn now to the Syriac of Ephraim, where we find Băn especially engaged to construct the Grave in which the elements of the Powers of Darkness will finally be buried. The first passage from Saint Ephraim (citing Manichæan authority) reads as follows: "The Architect and Builder of that Grave, as their account says, is one—whoever he may be—whose name is Băn, who in the days of adversity became the fashioner of the Grave of the Darkness."² In another passage Ephraim similarly speaks of "the great Earth from which Băn the Builder cut whole stones for the Grave of the Darkness".³ Twice again Ephraim refers to "Băn the Builder", and to "that wise Builder and Architect" who frames this grave and great pit.⁴

From these various Syriac allusions it will be seen that Băn, or Ban (cf. Soghd. Bām above, p. 146), figures as the great architect in the spiritual universe, more especially in connexion with affairs at the end of the world. It has been emphasized above (p. 139) that in the creation of the visible world itself he assigns most of his demiurgic duties to the Living Spirit whom he evoked to carry out his plans. Băn is therefore the higher power, standing back of the active agency of the Living Spirit (see below), and coming himself into play when the ideal rôle is to be assumed. This relation between the two personages must be constantly borne in mind when dealing with Manichæan cosmogony.

Still further proof for the fact that Băn (Ban, Bām) is to be regarded pre-eminently as the Architect is found in the

¹ The etymology of Băn from a common Semitic verbal root signifying "to build" is easily recognized.

² See S. Ephraim, *op. cit.*, p. xxx. For help with the Syriac text (besides Mitchell's translation) I am indebted to my Assistant, Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University.

³ Ephraim, *op. cit.*, p. xlvii.

⁴ See Ephraim, *pp.* lxxv, xxxv.

well-known eschatological passage of the Fihrist, where his fashioning of the New Paradise hereafter is referred to and he is called "the Great Builder" (Arabic *al-Bannā' al-Kathīr*).¹ In this particular passage an account is given of several of the Powers of Light that appear at the end of the world, when the final order of the universe is instituted, and join in inspecting the New Paradise. The Fihrist paragraph runs thus:—

"Hereupon Primal Man will come from the world of Capricornus (i.e. the north); and the Messenger of Good Tidings from the east;² the Great Builder from the south;³ and the Spirit of Life from the world of the west. And they will view the great structure which is the New Paradise, (and) going round about that Hell, they then will look at it."⁴

This Arabic passage, as previously noted by F. W. K. Müller, runs closely parallel with a description in the following Turfan Pahlavi Fragment M. 470 (= Mü. ii, p. 20), and affords additional evidence that the Great Builder is there referred to under the designation "God of the New Realm from the south". The text in Turfan Pahlavi is as follows:—

Ōhrmīzdbē (= *bar*) a[ē]
 abarag pādīgōs vā Rōšanšah[r Yazd]
 aē xvarāsān o vā Nōg [Ša]hr
 Yazd aē ērag o Mīhr [Yazd aē]
 xvarnivar pādīgōs o |||||
 padīštān aē xvēš |||||
 hamīs abar hān [rāz 'ē]

¹ The correct pointing of the first word as *bannā'* "builder" is due to Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xlii, 546, where he translates by "der grosse Baumeister".

² This Messenger is the Friend of Light, see above, pp. 144-5.

³ Observe that in Soghd. Frag. M. 583 (above cited) Bām comes from the south, as he does also in T. Phl. Frag. M. 470, translated just below.

⁴ See Flügel, p. 71, l. 14 seq. (text), pp. 101, 102 (transl.); Kessler, pp. 400, 401.

Vahīštāv 'ī Nōg [Šahr °]¹

Ayāb 'ī |||tā|||

nīyašānd

"The divinity Ohrmazd (i.e. Primal Man) [will come] from the northern region; and [the God] of the Light Realm (i.e. Friend of Light, Narēsap) from the east; and the God of the New Realm (i.e. Bān) from the south; and [the God] Mihr from the western region.² [And they will take] their stations, from their own (quarters), together above that [Mystery of] the Paradise which is the New [Realm], and will look down at that Hell which [is dark ?]."³

In view of the evidence thus presented as a sequel to that regarding the Friend of Light, it seems certainly justifiable to conclude that the identity of "the great Bān" (or Bān, Bām), as middle member in the Second Evocation, is established, being that of the Builder.⁴

3. THE LIVING SPIRIT

The characteristics of the Living Spirit as the third member of the group are much better known, but it is appropriate here to supplement the previously available sources by the

¹ The broken words in these two lines are here conjecturally restored on the basis of *rūz 'ī vazurg vahīšt 'ī nōg* in M. 98b, ll. 5, 6 (= Mū. ii, p. 39), and *šahr 'ī nōg* in M. 482 verso, ll. 12, 13 (= Mū. ii, p. 17).

² Notice that in Sogh. Frag. M. 583 (translated above) the god Mithr (Mišē) comes from the east, and the Friend of Light from the west, if Andreas translates correctly. But it is possible that the marshalling of the gods in that Fragment was for a different purpose than that which is represented in the present assembling.

³ M. 470 recto, ll. 13-20 (= Mū. ii, p. 20).

⁴ It is interesting to add that in a ninth century anti-Manichæan ecclesiastical letter the name Bān (adopted from the god's name) appears to have been borne by a heretic who is opprobriously spoken of as the "impious Baanes"—*ὁ ἡμιπαρὸς Βαάνης*—being anathematized in a long list of false teachers, like Scythianus, Terebinthus, Boudes, Manes, etc., recalling in a way the Gk. Formula of Abjuration. This document exists in the form of a letter written by Bishop Theophylactus, Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 933-56; see *Bull. Acad. Impér. des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, 1913, pp. 366, 367 (cl. hist. philos., Russian lang.). I owe this reference to my pupil Mr. Victor N. Sharenkoff.

Manichæan texts themselves. Prior to the discovery of these documents in Central Asia, the non-Manichæan material relating to him¹ had been collected by the various scholars writing about Mānī's Religion from the time of Beausobre to Baur, Flügel, and the rest.²

For example, in Greek this active power is spoken of as *Zōn Πνεῦμα* (Lat. version, *Spiritus Vivens*) in the *Acta Archelai*, according to which source, as elsewhere, he is sent to rescue Primal Man and afterwards creates the cosmos, overcoming the Princes of Darkness and appearing again with the other gods at the end of the world.³

In Alexander of Lycopolis (chap. iii) he is particularly called the "Demiurge" (*Δημιουργός*); and Alexander states that when the soul (of Primal Man) was imprisoned by Darkness, "God felt compassion at this and sent a certain other Power (*δύναμιν*) whom we call *Demiurge*; and when this Power had come and had taken in hand the creation of the world it separated from matter as much of the [luminous] force as had suffered no defilement from the mixture [with Darkness] and (thus) the sun and moon were first brought into being"; and, directly afterwards, Alexander again mentions this creative agent as "the Demiurge".⁴

The same designation, *Demiurge*, is employed in the Greek Formula of Abjuration to be recited by Manichæans accepting Christianity, the convert being required to renounce, among other things, a belief in "the so-called *Demiurge*" (*τὸν*

¹ As an active agent the Living Spirit is generally conceived of as a masculine personality, but also as neuter or feminine where grammatical gender is involved. We must remember that sex plays no part in these Manichæan abstract personifications. Cf. Cumont (and Kugener), *Recherches*, i, p. 31, n. 1, and p. 18, n. 1.

² I. Beausobre, *Hist. Man.*, ii, 358-70; F. C. Baur, *Man. Religionssystem*, pp. 68-71; Flügel, pp. 208, 209, 211, 251, 352, 353; Cumont, pp. 25-6 f.; Legge, ii, 302, n. 1.

³ Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, vii, 4; viii, 1; xiii, 4 (ed. Beeson, pp. 10-12, 21).

⁴ See Alex. Lycop., *Contra Manichæi Opiniones*, chap. iii, mid.; chap. iv, beginning (ed. Brinkmann, p. 6, ll. 6-11, 22).

καλούμενον Δημιουργόν).¹ Regarding the special relation of the Living Spirit as Demiurge to Bān the Architect, sufficient has been said above in Section 2.

St. Augustine knew well about the creative activity of the Living Spirit, including the familiar story of his having used the bodies of the Princes of Darkness in forming the world. Thus, in addressing the Manichæan Faustus (*Contra Faustum*, xx, 9), he speaks of "your Mighty Spirit who fashions the world from the captive bodies of the race of Darkness" (*Spiritus Potentem . . . mundum fabricantem*); and again (chap. xx, 10) he refers to this powerful agent as that "other god (who) fashions the world (*fabricat mundum*) from that captive race". The great Church Father, moreover, correctly represents the Christian colouring taken on in certain phases of Manichæism, when he makes Faustus (op. cit., xx, 1) identify the Living Spirit with the Holy Ghost by saying: "We Manichæans likewise believe that the Holy Spirit, the Third Majesty, has his seat and his abode in the whole circle of the atmosphere."² Furthermore, Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xv, 6, mentions, as do all the sources, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, a discussion of which is reserved for elsewhere.

The Syriac scholiast, Theodore bar Khoni, describes, somewhat elaborately, how the Living Spirit (*Rūhā Hayyā*) is called into being, his subsequent evocation of Five Sons as assistants in his work, his going to the rescue of Primal Man, and the striking incident of the Appellant voice and the answer of the Respondent.³ He furthermore portrays vividly the energetic rôle played by this living personality in destroying and flaying the Archons, whose skins are spread out to form the ten heavens and their bodies used to make

¹ See text of *Gk. Formula Abjurat.*, § 2, in Kessler, *Mani*, p. 403, transl. p. 360, with n. 5.

² Cf. also Legge, *Rivals*, ii, 302, n. 1, and pp. 319-20. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xx, 6, end, refers back to this designation "the Holy Spirit in the air".

³ A treatment of this whole incident is kept for later.

the eight earths, and also his creating other agencies that serve towards the final separation of the elements of light which had become mixed with darkness.¹

Passing to the Muhammadan sources we may state that in the Arabic Fihrist (as in the Syriac Scholia above) the Living Spirit, or "Spirit of Life" (*Rūḥ al-Ḥayāt*),² joins with the Mother of Life ("Joyousness") in delivering Primal Man and later in the appeal to have Jesus sent to save Adam.³ Moreover, when the end of the world comes to pass and the other gods assemble, "the Spirit of Life appears from the west."⁴ The noted Albīrūnī also mentions this god by name when he says: "He (Mānī) preached of the Worlds of Light, of the Primal Man, and of the Spirit of Life."⁵

We are now prepared to turn to the remains of the actual Manichæan texts as furnishing direct information at first hand.

In the Turfan Pahlavi Fragment M. 47 verso, ll. 8, 9, there is found in a description of Paradise, which is accorded in a vision, a mention of the Living Spirit as the "Immortal Wind (Spirit) of Life".⁶ A fragmentary section of a hymn (M. 555) contains, moreover, the exhortation

¹ See Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, pp. 187-9; Cumont, *Recherches*, i, 20-9. Details regarding all this will be found in my forthcoming book on Manichæism. It may be added that St. Ephraim's *Prose Refutations*, in Syriac, do not mention by name either the Living Spirit or the Friend of Light, but only Bān; see ed. Mitchell-Burkitt-Bevan, ii, p. cxxxv, n. 1. In op. cit., i, p. xxxv, Ephraim ascribes to "Primal Man" the slaying of the Archons and the construction of sky and earth from their skins and bodies.

² Flügel, *Mani*, p. 59, l. 2, etc.

³ See Jackson, *JAOS.* xlv, p. 64, n. 14 (with references).

⁴ For text see Flügel, p. 71, l. 15, and compare the translation of this passage as given above, near end of Section 2.

⁵ Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. E. Sachau, p. 190, ll. 13-15.

⁶ M. 47 v., ll. 8, 9, *vād anōšag ēš živahr*. See Müller, *Handschriften-reste*, ii, p. 84. For the spelling of *živahr* "life", cf. Bartholomæe, *zAīrubb.*, p. 52 n. In this connexion as to "wind" = "spirit", recall that in the ninth century Pahlavi book *Shikand-Gümānik Vizhar*, xv, 7, the Christian term for Holy Spirit is translated (cf. Lat. *Spiritus*) by Phl. *vāt ī pāk* "the Pure Wind", in referring to Mary's conceiving Jesus.

"Praise ye the Gods and sing with the song of the Life [-giving] Spirit".¹ Again, in two other T.Phil. Fragments which record the Manichæan parallel above to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the last is named as the "Pure (Holy) Spirit"—Vākhsh Yōzhdahr—this latter epithet being glossed in the Pahlavi dialect version as Zapartvākhsh (Holy Spirit).² In still another Fragment, M. 4f, line 19, containing hymns and praises, this same "Pure (Holy) Spirit" is invoked among the divine beings and angels.³ Finally, it is quite certain that the creative Spirit of Life is the initiating agent in each stage of the cosmogonic process that is recorded in the long Cosmological Fragment M. 98-9, the lost introduction to which doubtless contained direct mention of the Living Spirit by name.⁴ Every step of the process, the binding of the demons, creation of the sun and moon, preparing the several earths with their arrangements of columns, vaulted arches, protecting walls and moats, corresponds closely with what we can gather from other sources, particularly the Chinese Manichæan Treatise mentioned below. The Turfan Pahlavi Fragments therefore bear direct testimony to that which is given elsewhere concerning the Spirit who is Life.

In one old Turkish Manichæan Fragment, preserved in Runic characters, the term "Pure Spirit"—borrowed from the Iranian—is preserved.⁵ But the common designation of the Living Spirit in the Turkish Fragments is *Wadziwantag* or *Wadziwanta*, that is *Wādzhīwantag*, "Wind

¹ M. 555 (= Mū. ii, p. 74), *vāxš zīnd[kar]* "the spirit life[-giving]".

² See M. 17 verso, l. 16 (= Mū. ii, p. 26), also M. 172 verso, l. 11 (= Mū. ii, pp. 101, 103). The more exact transliteration (of *khsh* and *zh*) is given by *vāxš yōzhdahr*. In l. 9 (loc. cit.) compare also "dialectic" *zapart vāxšy* as a gloss of *vāburigān*.

³ M. 46, l. 19 (= Mū. ii, p. 58), *vāxš yōzhdahr*.

⁴ For the text of this Cosmological Fragment (M. 98-9), with a German version, see Müller, ii, pp. 37-43.

⁵ Irano-Turkish *vā[xš] yōzhdah[r]*, see Turkish Runic Frag. M. 339b, in Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii, p. 30; cf. also Le Coq, *Köktürkisches aus Turfan*, in *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, xli, 1061, Berlin, 1909.

(Spirit) of Life," based directly on a presumable Iranian *Vād-žwādag*. The fragmentary Manichæan remains in this language, as in the other sources, record that "the God Wādzhīwantag" (*Wadžiwantag T(ä)ngri*) unites with the Mother of Life in the liberation of Primal Man.¹ This god's creative energy is shown (in the special Fragment referred to) by an allusion to the formation of the ten heavens, the earth, the constellations of the Zodiac, and the fettering of the demons.² Consequently the weight of a mountain of this "great, mighty God, Wādzhīwanta(g)" presses down to earth the hugest of the demons, while as a triumphant god he proceeds to "tuck up his robe in the tenfold heaven and don the water-god as his shield" when worsting the rest of the demoniacal host.³ His strength is therefore synonymous with supreme might.⁴ In another Turkish Fragment (astronomical in its nature) he is mentioned with the Mother-Goddess and Ormazd (Primal Man) in connexion with the palaces of the sun and moon.⁵

In the Chinese Manichæan Treatise from Tun-Huan, translated by Chavannes and Pelliot,⁶ the Living Spirit appears as *Tsing-fong* "Pure Wind". The main characteristics recur as elsewhere and serve to support what is generally known about him, while additional data contribute certain supplementary items. In brief, this pure spirit, Tsing-fong, joins in saving Primal Man "from the five caverns of darkness",⁷ and in creating the ten heavens, eight earths,

¹ See Turkish Frag. T. II, D. 173b, recto ll. 16-20, verso ll. 1-4 (Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, i, pp. 13, 14; cf. pp. 40, 41, in *Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1911.

² T. II, D. 173b, verso ll. 4-20; see Le Coq, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

³ T. II, D. 121, recto ll. 12-15, verso ll. 1-20 (Le Coq, *Türk. Manich.*, iii, pp. 8-9).

⁴ T. II, D. 171 verso, ll. 11-12 (Le Coq, op. cit., i, p. 24), *qad(a)ran . . . wadžiw(a)nta t(ä)ngri*.

⁵ T.M. 291 recto, ll. 9-11 seq. (Le Coq, op. cit., iii, pp. 7-8).

⁶ See Chavannes and Pelliot, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, pp. 499-590 (French transl.), 591-617 (Chinese text).

⁷ J.A. 1911, pp. 510-14.

the revolving wheel of the Zodiac,¹ together with other good agencies that have to do with releasing the imprisoned light.² To his creation are due Mount Wei-lao-kiu-fou (Mt. Meru) and the lesser mountains, as well as the oceans and rivers.³ Owing to him likewise is the chaining of the demons whom his Five Sons help to keep imprisoned and in order in the universe.⁴ Especially to be noted likewise is the fact that in one passage he is represented under the designation of the "Spirit (lit. Wind) of the Pure Law", as being united with the Father of Light and the Son of Light in the sort of Trinity which has been referred to already.⁵

In this connexion, moreover, observe that there is an allusion also in the Chinese Treatise to "the Pure, Marvellous Wind (Spirit) which is a white dove".⁶ This Christian image of the Holy Spirit as the "white dove" recalls the argument maintained by Mānī (Manes), in disputing with Bishop Archelaus, that it was a real dove which descended upon Jesus at his baptism.⁷

It is hoped that this study, based upon the various sources, especially drawing upon and combining the Manichæan Fragments themselves, may result in bringing out some new points with regard to the Friend of Lights and "the Great Ban", and be likewise of some service through its bringing together all the material thus far available in regard to the Living Spirit as the third personage in the Second Evocation visualized by Mānī in his cosmogonic system.

¹ *J.A.* 1911, pp. 514-15. As to the constellations of the Zodiac ("wheel of revolutions") see *J.A.* 1913, p. 102, and compare Le Coq, *Türk. Manich.*, iii, p. 15, n. 18, p. 41, n. 18. The stars were created after the sun and moon according to Alexander of Lycopolis, chap. iii, and Theodore bar Khoni, p. 189 ("the lights more than a thousand" = stars; or better translated "the lights (i.e. stars) in addition to the ships (i.e. sun and moon)").

² *J.A.* 1911, pp. 516-17, 531, 533.

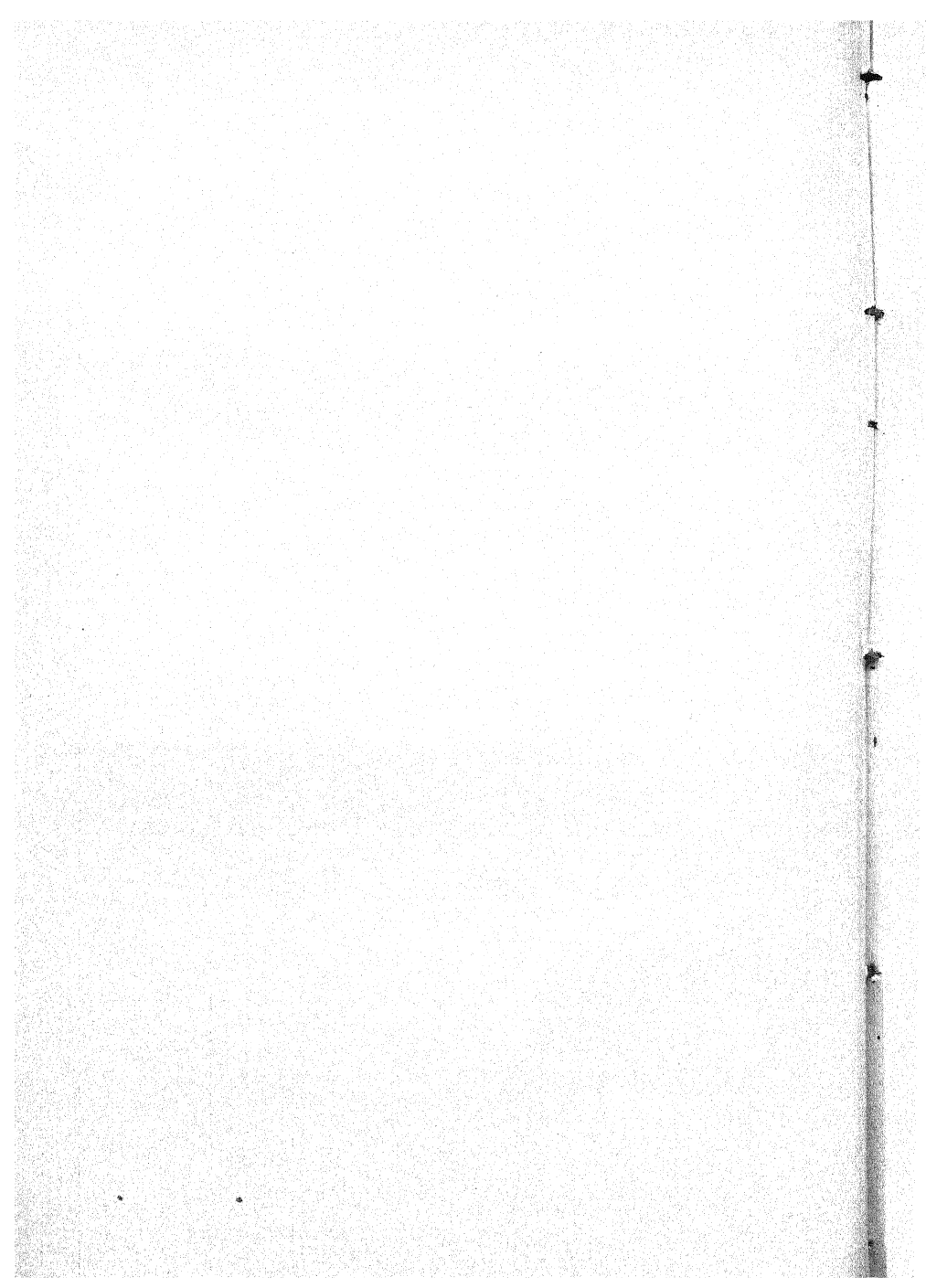
³ *J.A.* 1911, pp. 518-19.

⁴ *J.A.* 1911, pp. 518-19.

⁵ See *J.A.* 1911, p. 556, with n. 2, and p. 510, n. 4.

⁶ See *J.A.* 1911, p. 557, with n. 1.

⁷ Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 59 (50), 5, ed. Beeson, p. 86.



Avestan Words beginning with F

By R. P. DEWHURST, M.A., I.C.S. (RET.)

THE labial spirant does not occur at all in Sanskrit, but the words beginning with the letter F constitute an interesting but limited class in the language of the Avesta. They occupy less than 47 out of the 1,879 pages of Bartholomæ's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, and less than 21 out of the 611 pages of Kanga's Avesta Dictionary.

The spirants in Avestan take the place of the aspirates in Sanskrit, and that this change occurs in the case of the labials is clear from such instances as the Avestan *kafa* = Sanskrit *kapha* (foam), and the Avestan *safa* = Sanskrit *śapha* (hoof). There do not, however, seem to be any instances of the initial Sanskrit फ being represented by an initial *f* in Avestan. The extremely few Sanskrit roots beginning with *ph* (*phal* and *phan* seem to be the only roots which have any real existence) have no corresponding equivalents in Avestan.

In Avestan *f* is also the representative of the Sanskrit surd labial *p*. This change is, however, found to occur generally in the middle of a word, e.g. Avestan *drafšo* (banner) = Sanskrit

drapaḥ (modern Persian درفش), and Avestan *hvafnēm*

(sleep) = Sanskrit *svapnaḥ*. The most common instance of its occurrence at the beginning of a word is the Avestan affix *frā* (Gathic form *fēra*) as the representative of the Sanskrit *pra*.

As has been pointed out by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson (Avestan Grammar, section 95), *f*, where it occurs internally, seems in some cases to represent an original *pv*, i.e. the word *āfente* (Yasna 57-29) seems to be the equivalent of an earlier form *āpvante* (they are taken, overtaken, Sanskrit root *āp*). The majority of the words beginning with *f* in Avestan begin with the verbal prefix *fra* just mentioned, meaning forth, fore, or forward. This prefix still survives in modern Persian in

such common verbs as فرمودن, فرستادن, and the many common nouns and compounds derived from them.

It is very doubtful whether there are any separate Avestan words which begin with *f* immediately followed by a vowel. With one very doubtful exception initial *f* is always followed by *y*, *r*, or a sibilant. The solitary dubious exception is a proper name *fānkayō*, which occurs in the Zamyād Yasht (Yasht 19-3) in the plural as the designation of some mountains, but there is a variant reading *frāvankayo*, which has been adopted in the rendering by Darmesteter (*SBE.* xxiii, p. 288), and it seems highly probable that this reading is correct. The only other Avestan words in which *f* is followed by a vowel are old Gathic forms, which insert the short vowel *e* as an anaptyctic vowel between *f* and *r*, e.g. the Gathic form *f^erasa*, a variant of *frasa* (a question = Sanskrit *praśna*).

Four Avestan words begin with the combination *fy*. Three of these are closely connected together, viz. *fyanhū* (sleet), a denominative verb *fyanhuntæca*, and an adjectival form *fyanhvaityæ*, the two latter being obviously derived from the noun. The first two of these words occur in the same verse of the Ābān Yasht (Yasht v, 120), while the noun alone occurs again in the Tīr Yasht (Yasht viii, 33), and the adjective is to be found alone in the Din Yasht (Yasht xvi, 10). Bartholomæ suggests that these words have an affinity with the Sanskrit root *piṣ* (to pound), but this seems doubtful in the extreme, though no more probable parallelism can be put forward.

The remaining word beginning with *fy* is a proper name *Fyūšta*, which occurs in the Farvardin Yasht (Yasht xiii, 125), and Bartholomæ suggests not very convincingly that this represents an original *pi-ušta*, akin to the Sanskrit *abhyušta*. There is, however, a variant reading *Fyaxstahe* (the word occurring in the genitive singular), and this is adopted by Darmesteter (*SBE.* xxiii, p. 218) as the basis of his translation.

The words beginning with *f* followed by a sibilant are rather more numerous. One of the most interesting of these words is the form *fšū*, which occurs in three distinct senses. The most common is the root *fšū* = to increase, which is the origin

undoubtedly of the modern Persian **افزودن**. It appears to be a product of the prefix *abi* (Sanskrit *abhi*, Avestan *aiwi*, Gathic *a'bi*) and the root *su* (to generate, Sanskrit *su* or *sū*). Words derived from this root are very common in the Avesta. One is to be found in the oft-quoted verse of the Gathic hymn (Yasna xxix, 5) "*frayyaitiš noit fšuyente dregvasū pairi*" (there is no destruction for the industrious along with the wicked). The second *fšū* is the stem of a participial form *fšuta*, which occurs once only in a compound *payo-fšuta* (churned milk, i.e. cheese) found in the Vendidad (Fargard, vii, 77).

It seems to survive in the rare modern verb **پسودن** and the

commoner shortened form **سودن** (to pound). The last *fšū* is a nominal base meaning "cattle", identical apparently with the Sanskrit *paśu*, which does not occur alone, but is found as the second element in a large number of compounds, of which *pauryaṣṣu* and *drvaṣṣu* may be taken as types.

From the first of these three words is derived the noun *fšūša*, meaning "prosperity". This appears in the compound *fšuso-māthra* (Sanskrit *mantra*) = "a prayer for prosperity," the title by which Yasna lviii is known and by which it is mentioned in Visparad, ii, 10.

An exceptionally interesting word beginning with the combination *fš* is *fšarema* = "shame, disgrace", the obvious

origin of the common modern word **شرم** and its compounds.

The ablative singular of this noun occurs four times in the same phrase repeated in four consecutive verses of the Vendidad (Fargard, xv, 9, 10, 11, 12) "*mašyānām parō fšarēmat*" = "from shame of the people". Darmesteter (Etudes Iraniennes, 1-87) suggests that this word is a contraction of *pi-zarēma*, *pi* being the Sanskrit *abhi* and *zarēma* "a word",

which seems to be preserved in the modern word **آزرم**.

The word *fštāna* has a special interest, as being one of the very few words in Avestan in which *f* is followed by two consonants. It means breast or nipple, and is preserved in the modern پستان. It is probably derived from *a'pi* (Greek ἐπί, Sanskrit *api*) and the root *stā* (Sanskrit *sthā*, to stand), with an allusion to the prominence of the nipple. This word occurs in a description of Anāhita (the modern Persian ناهید, the goddess and star Venus) in the Ābān Yasht (Yasht v, 127) "*yathā hukerepta fštāna*" = so that her breasts may be well-shaped (Sanskrit *suklpta*).

A detailed discussion of all the Avestan words beginning with the combination *fr*, which are comparatively numerous, would occupy too much space, and many of them are of no special interest. Most of them are compounds beginning with the prefix *frā* or its shortened form *fra*. I shall confine my attention to a few of the words which seem to me to have features of interest.

Frapithwa (= "copious, thriving") is the origin of the modern فربه ("fat"). It occurs only once in the Avesta, viz. in the Vendidad (Fargard, iii, 3) "*Āt pascaēta ahe nmānahe frapithwo gauš*" ("afterwards in this house the cattle are thriving").

Frō ("much, well, forward") is the origin of the modern فرو (*farū*), which occurs in many modern compounds, e.g.

فرو گذاشت ("omission"), فروتنی ("humility"). Combined with it, it forms the word *frōit* ("assuredly"), which occurs only in the Ormazd Yasht (Yasht i, 5).

Frya ("a friend") is another word beginning with three consonants. It is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *priya*. It is connected with the root *frī* (to love), which when compounded

with the prefix *ā* means "to praise or bless", hence the modern

آفرین ("benediction").

Fratama ("first") is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *prathama*, and it also occurs in the Behistun inscription (Bh. ii, 13) "*martiyā tyaišaiy frataṃ anušiṃyā āhaṃtā*" ("the men who were his chief followers"). It may be noted in this connexion that there is a separate character for *f*, viz. 𐬥 in the Persian cuneiform script, and that in addition to this word and two proper names *Frāda* and *Fravarti* (Phraortes), the following words beginning with *f* occur in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, viz. *frābara* = "he bore" (*fra* =

Avestan *frā* + *abara*, akin to the modern بردن, stem بر),

Fratarata = "he crossed" (*fra* + *tarta* from *tar*, to cross, Sanskrit *tṛ*), *framātar* = "commander" (*fra* + *mā*, to measure,

Sanskrit *mā*, whence the modern فرماندار), *framānā* =

"precepts" (modern فرمان), *fraštam* = "questioned,

punished" (stem *pars*, Avestan *fras*, modern پرسیدن),

and *fraharvam* = altogether (*fra* + *harava* = all, Avestan *haurva*, Sanskrit *sarva*).

The curious word *fšanh*, a fetter or chain, is explained by Kanga in his Avesta Dictionary as being a shortened form of *pas* (foot, Latin *pes*) + *anh*, and Bartholomæ seems to agree with this suggestion. The word occurs only in the instrumental plural in the Avesta, viz. in the form *fšebiš* in the Vendidad (Fargard, iv, 51).

A very curious denominative verb occurs as a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in the Bahram Yasht (Yasht xiv, 56). The phrase is "*maidhyanēm fšānayeinti*" (they extend or stretch their waists). It is tempting to connect this word with the modern

افشاندن, but Bartholomæ holds this to be impossible, because

the Indo-Iranian *fs* becomes *sh* (ش) in modern Persian. Possibly the modern word شانه ("shoulder") may be a derivative of the nominal base of this denominative.

Frazainti ("offspring") is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *prajā* and reappears again in the modern فرزند. The Avestan *z* in this word is the representative of the Sanskrit *j*, a usual change, the Avestan *zātō* ("born"), for instance, being the equivalent of the Sanskrit *jātaḥ*.

Frath (to be broad or wide) = Sanskrit *prath*. Its derivative *fratanh* ("width" or "wide") is possibly the origin of the modern پهن and پهن.

Fras ("to ask") is the origin of the common modern verb پرسیدن. It occurs in the Behistun inscription in the word *ufrašta* ("well-punished"), the initial *u* being the Avestan *hu* and Sanskrit *su* (Greek *εὖ*). The root *fru* seems to occur in the Avesta in at least five different senses. It means to be extinguished in the Zamyād Yasht (Yasht xix, 80), and a similar causal form is found in the Vendidad (Fargard, v, 37) "*ātarem frāvayeiti*" ("he extinguishes the fire"). Compounded with *ava* and *ni*, it means to fly towards in the Farvardin Yasht (Yasht xiii, 70) "*dim ava-nifrāvayente yathā mēřēgho huparēnō*" ("they fly towards him like well-winged birds").

In one passage (Vendidad, ix, 38) it appears to have the sense of ploughing. In the compound *dumnō-frutō*, which occurs in the Farvardin Yasht (Yasht xiii, 14), it seems to mean driving, the epithet being applied to the winds "driving along the clouds".

Lastly, in the compound *peretho-frava* (thorough cleansing) which occurs in the Vendidad (Fargard, ix, 29) the root appears to bear the meaning of pouring water and to be connected with the Sanskrit *phu*, Latin *pluere* and *pluvius*.

The Orientation of the Dead in India

BY THE LATE WILLIAM CROOKE, I.C.S. (RET.), D.SC., F.B.A.

THE question of the orientation of the dead has recently engaged the attention of anthropologists, the term in this connexion meaning, not, as the derivation of the word implies, a position in the direction of the west, but in some specified relation to the points of the compass.¹ For example, Mr. W. J. Perry,² discarding what he terms the "solar theory" of Sir E. Tylor,³ reverts to the explanation suggested by Herbert Spencer,⁴ that the beliefs concerning the direction of the Other World depend on the migrations of the tribes, the Land of the Dead being identified with the region from which a certain tribe has, or believes it has, come. Mr. Perry's investigation is confined to Indonesia, and Sir J. G. Frazer⁵ quotes a case from British New Guinea in which the dead are buried on their sides with their heads pointing in the direction from which the totem clan of the deceased is believed to have come originally.

India furnishes a specially favourable field for extending this inquiry. From the earliest times the disposal of the dead has been regulated by a precise ritual. All Indians, Musalmāns as well as Hindus, in their religious and domestic ritual and in arranging the direction of their journeys, pay special regard to the points of the compass. By Hindus the quarters of the heaven are placed in charge of the Dikpāla or Diggaja, the supporters or elephants of the regions, and by Musalmāns in that of the Rijālu-l-ghaib, or "concealed

¹ *New English Dictionary*, s.v.

² *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, xliv, 1914, pp. 281 seqq., with the criticism of Professor H. O. Forbes, *Man*, xvi, 1916, pp. 7 seq.; *Folk-Lore*, xxvi, 1915, pp. 138 seqq.

³ *Primitive Culture*, 4th ed., 1903, vol. ii, pp. 48, 421.

⁴ *Principles of Sociology*, 3rd ed., 1893, vol. i, pp. 201 seq.

⁵ *The Belief in Immortality*, vol. i, p. 208.

personages".¹ Both Hindus and Musalmāns are taught from childhood to attend to the points of the compass, and a follower of either faith, suddenly carried off to some desert, would instinctively define his position without any special observation of the sun or stars. This faculty naturally excites the wonder of the European who is ignorant of the customs on which it depends. Unfortunately the attention of anthropologists in India has not as yet been seriously attracted to this problem, and the information regarding the rules of the orientation of the dead available at present is not as precise as might be desired. But a discussion of some of the information may induce scholars in India to pursue the inquiry. In the discussion which follows it is for the present assumed that when, for instance, it is stated that the corpse is laid head to the north and feet to the south, it is a form of magical suggestion that the spirit is desired or warned to take that direction in its journey to Deathland.

To deal first with the theory that the corpse is orientated in the direction from which the tribe of the deceased has, or supposes that it has, migrated, it may be admitted that among many Indian races there is a desire that the spirit should be reunited in a common burial ground or depositary of the ashes with the spirits of the ancestors.² But these considerations, partly through the almost general adoption of the Brahmanical rule of depositing the ashes in some holy river, though there may be some vague idea that they thus rejoin the sainted dead, does not to any considerable extent affect the orientation of the corpse. Besides the case of the Gonds, which will be discussed later on, the only Indian case quoted in support of Mr. Perry's theory is that of some Nāgas and other tribes of Assam. But the latest and best authority on these tribes, Mr. J. H. Hutton, denies that the orientation of

¹ J. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, p. 92. Ja'far Sharif, *Islām in India*, Oxford, 1921, pp. 278 seqq.

² See, for instance, A. Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 111. J. Shakespear, *The Lushai-Kuki Clans*, p. 35. E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii, 1895, pp. 326 seqq.

house or of the dead stands in any relation to the belief in the direction from which migration has, or is believed to have, taken place, or that this belief influences the location of the Land of the Dead. The theory is also found to be in conflict with other Nāga traditions.¹ Writing about the Sema Nagas Mr. Hutton states that "there is no positive orientation of the dead, but a negative orientation, as they must not, when buried, look towards the house in which they lived when alive".² Further, among many of the Assam tribes the theories of eschatology are extremely vague; they are uncertain whether the souls of the dead abide in the corpse, or near the grave, or go to a distant country. Some think that the dead go to a great hill somewhere in the south, or start towards the setting sun. Others, again, suppose that they remain near the village, or occupy the stone monuments erected in their honour; or that there is a Heaven underground where parents meet their children; or, again, that the dead are reborn on earth, and that the souls return in the guise of butterflies or house flies.³ This variance of opinion is possibly in some degree due to the varied traditions of the many elements from which the Nāga tribes have been formed. But even among the peasantry of northern India the same difference of opinion prevails, and they seem to have no difficulty in reconciling the belief in a place of happiness or torture with the presence of the ghost in a house, a tomb, or a tree.⁴

Among the wildest tribes in the Indian Empire, the Wa and their kinsfolk in Upper Burma, no regard seems to be paid to the orientation of the grave, and it is not marked by any monument.⁴ Tribes like the Mündās, who erect such monuments, pay little regard to their orientation; "some of the stones point north or south, others east and west," and there is

¹ *The Angami Nagas*, 414 seqq. Perry, *Folk-Lore*, xxvi, 1915, p. 151.

² *The Sema Nagas*, p. 247.

³ W. H. Furness, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxii, 1902, p. 463.

⁴ [Sir] J. G. Scott, J. P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, pt. i, vol. ii, p. 82; pt. i, vol. i, p. 522.

a tradition that when placed in the former position they indicate a natural death, in the latter case that the death was due to violence.¹ Among the Khasis “these groups of stones are usually situated alongside roads, or close to well-known lines of route, where they readily attract the attention of passers-by. They do not necessarily face in any particular direction, but are to be found pointing to all points of the compass”.² The same absence of orientation appears in the remarkable images erected by the Kāfirs of the Hindu-kush.³

But when we pass from these barbarous frontier tribes to the settled population of the Peninsula, we find that the law of orientation is clearly established. The most important directions are the north and south. The north is associated with the earliest Aryan traditions, with the mystical Mount Meru, and the Paradises allotted to each deity—Vaikuṇṭha, Kailāsa, Goloka, Svarga. In the final episode of the *Mahābhārata* the Pāṇḍavas after the destruction of Dvārakā marched northward with their faithful dog, perished in the snows of the Himālaya, and finally passed to Indraloka, “Indra’s Land,” between the Sun and the Polar Star. Here, too, was placed the land of the Uttarakurus, a Paradise of sensual delights, like the Greek tale of the Hyperboreans.⁴ Here, too, dwell the Siddhas or perfected saints, often noticed by Somadeva in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, whose cult is still practised in the lower ranges of the Panjāb hills.⁵

In the Vedic age, however, legends such as these seem to have had little influence on the orientation of the dead. The eschatology is so vague that it could not have affected the funeral ritual. “The realm of the dead is variously located in

¹ F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Chota Nagpore*, 1903, pp. 60 seq.

² P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, 2nd ed., 1914, p. 147.

³ Sir G. S. Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush*, 1896, pp. 645 seqq.

⁴ A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *A Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, i, 84, 168. J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, 1858, pp. 186 seq.; ii, 1860, pp. 332 seqq. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, iv, 99. J. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vii, 58 seq.

⁵ H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Lahore, 1919, pp. 278 seqq., 401.

the west or the south, occasionally in the east, no doubt in conformity with the conception in the *Rigveda* (x, 15, 7), which speaks of the fathers as *arunānām upasthe*, 'in the bosom of the dawn.' The dead are sought for in the earth and air and heaven, in the sun and moon and stars—in the last-named very rarely. In fact, we encounter a number of contradictory views, which originated at different times and among different races, and which, after undergoing artificial amalgamation, now emerge in the Vedic ritual and its hymns."¹ The theory of the fate of the dead was also complicated by the growth of doctrines like those of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, of Karma or "works", by which the pathway to beatitude was conditioned by the merit acquired by sacrifice, or, as in the Upanishads, by abstract meditation and obtainment of divine knowledge. And side by side with these philosophical doctrines the old animistic view of the haunting ghost still survived.

But in the post-Vedic period, as the old Nature powers were replaced by departmental deities, the elder gods settled down as guardians of the quarters of the sky. Such was the fate of Yama, whose cult may have been connected with that of twins, "the first man who died," a god of death, but in his original conception not concerned with the punishment of the sinner. He became regent of the south, dwelling in Pātāla, the nether world, or as some say, in his southern city, in the journey to which the soul endures grievous tortures. Here, again, the myth as it stands is vague and contradictory, bearing the marks of many recensions and modifications developed in various ages and by various races.

But from it emerges one fact which controls the law of orientation, that Yama has his home in the south. The question arises: Why was the south selected as the abode of Yama? Some say that the south was a region unknown to, and dreaded by, the Aryans; others that the theory is in some way connected with the black buffalo, the vehicle of the death

¹ A. Hillebrandt, Hastings, op. cit., vol. iv, p. 475.

god. But I am indebted to Sir G. Grierson for a more probable explanation. He points out that the year is marked by the apparent motion of the sun through the heavens, the Uttarāyaṇa or northern, when the sun returns to the north after his Dakṣiṇāyaṇa or southern journey, when the sun enters the sign of Capricorn, the winter solstice, marked by festivals of rejoicing, the Pongal of the southern, the Makara Saṅkrānti of the northern Hindus.¹ The southward progress of the sun thus marks the gloomy passage of the souls to the realm of Yama, the phrase *dakṣiṇāyaṇam anuyā* “to follow the southern way”, coming to mean “to go to Yama’s Deathland”.

The rule thus established has persisted to the present day among all orthodox Hindus of the north. “After washing the corpse, clothing it in clean apparel, and rubbing it with perfumes . . . the relations of the deceased place the corpse supine, or resupine, if it be the body of a woman, on the funeral pyre, which is previously decorated with strung and unstrung flowers. . . . Then looking towards the south, and dropping the left knee to the ground, he [the chief mourner] applies the fire to the pile near the head of the corpse.” Looking again to the south he makes the water oblation for the refreshment of the thirsty spirit as it follows the southern road.² The general practice of all orthodox Hindus in northern India is to cremate the corpse, laying the head to the north and the feet to the south.³

It is a fact of some ethnological importance, to which little weight has hitherto been attached, that the Dravidian law of orientation is directly opposed to that of the northern

¹ Abbé J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1906, pp. 571 seq. B. Ziegenbalg, *Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods*, Madras, 1869, pp. 107 seqq. B. A. Gupte, *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1919, pp. 144 seqq.

² H. T. Colebrooke, *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus*, 1858, pp. 98 seq.

³ W. Ward, *View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*, Serampore, 1818, vol. i, p. 198. Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-Born*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 143, 150.

Hindus. In Madras, "the grave is dug and the pile also prepared so that the body shall lie with its head towards the south." Some Hindus in the south "will not sleep with the head to the south, others think it most unlucky to sleep with the head towards the north".¹ The same rule of orientation prevails among the Nāyars of Malabar, and among the Mālas or Pariahs of the Telugu country the head of the dying man is always laid to the south; "Yamudu [Yama], the god of death and Lord of Hades, is god of the south. Consequently, if the dead arose, if facing south he would go to the evil place. But lying on his back with the head to the south, they rise facing north and so escape an evil fate."² The Kallans, a thieving caste in Madura, have a tradition that they came originally from the north; "the dead are buried with their faces laid in the same direction, and when puja [worship] is done to Karapannaswāmī, the caste god, the worshippers turn to the north." But this conflicts with historical fact, the original home of the Kallan being in Tanjore to the south, and they migrated thence to the Pāṇḍya kingdom after it was conquered by the Cholas in the eleventh century A.D.³

In this connexion the case of the Gonds is instructive. They speak a Dravidian language, of the same family as Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese, and it has been proved that they are immigrants to their present home in the Sātpure plateau and the hill ranges extending to the Godāvārī. This migration is fixed some time before the fourteenth century of our era. But though they have no connexion with northern India their tribal legend describes the liberation of their first ancestor from a cave in the Himālaya. This tale has been manipulated under Brāhman influence, and the scene of the legend, in its original form, was at the hill of Pachmarhī, in the Narbadā

¹ J. E. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, Madras, 1896, p. 270.

² L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, vol. ii, Madras, 1912, p. 92. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909, vol. iv, 372; v, 351, 360.

³ W. Francis, *District Gazetteer, Madura*, Madras, 1906, vol. i, p. 93; Thurston, op. cit., iii, 61, 83.

valley. Gonds bury their dead in the Dravidian fashion, with the feet pointing north, and the more Brahmanized section of the tribe adduce this fact to prove their northern origin. But while the more Brahmanized Gonds are beginning to adopt the northern rule, the Māriā sept lay the dead facing the setting sun.¹ The same modification of the original rule under Brāhman influence appears in the Chhatisgarh District of the Central Provinces, where the corpse of an adult is tied on the bier with the face to the east, and it is then laid on the pyre in the same position.² The belief that the rising or setting sun influences the orientation of the corpse is illustrated by the Rājput belief that their Valhalla, the home of warriors slain in battle, is the region of the sun, Sūryaloka or Sūryamaṇḍala.³

The ascetic orders are a law unto themselves. Śaiva Lingāyats in the Deccan bury their dead in a five-cornered niche dug in the side of the grave, facing either east or north ; and Jogī or Jugī weavers of Bengal, who claim some vague connexion with the ascetic order of that name, and usually worship Śiva, place their dead in the grave with their faces turned towards the north-west, the direction of Kailāsa, the Paradise of Śiva.⁴ The rule of the true Jogī Order is far from clear. In the Panjāb they are said to seat the corpse cross-legged in the niche in the grave facing the north ; but it is reported that a Jogī in Bengal is buried facing the east, but the Sannyāsī, a member of another Śaiva Order, bury the dead facing the east or north-east, the road taken by the soul after death.⁵

¹ R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, 1916, vol. iii, 42 seqq., 47 seqq., 89. C. Grant, *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, Nāgpur, 1870, Intro., p. cix.

² P. N. Bose, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1890, p. 282.

³ J. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Oxford, 1919, vol. ii, pp. 843, 1003.

⁴ Thurston, op. cit., vol. iv, 285. Hastings, op. cit., vol. viii, p. 74. Radha Govinda Nath, *The Yogis of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 16. [Sir] H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1891, vol. i, p. 359.

⁵ Rose, op. cit., vol. ii, 1911, p. 299. *Panjāb Notes and Queries*, vol. ii, 1884-5, p. 20.

The question of the orientation of the dead in India is thus one of great complexity. There appears to be only slight evidence in the existing practice to indicate that the location of the Land of the Dead is connected with tribal migrations from a real or supposed place of origin. In the case of the Dravidians the question of origin is still a matter of speculation. One theory represents them as immigrants from somewhere in the west, and "there is nothing in the existing physical conditions to prevent us from believing that the survival of a Dravidian language in Baluchistān must indicate that the Dravidians came into India through Baluchistān in prehistoric times. Whether they are ultimately to be traced to a Central Asian or to a western Asian origin cannot at present be decided with absolute certainty, but the latter hypothesis receives very strong support from the undoubted similarity of the Sumerian and Dravidian ethnical types".¹ But, as has been already remarked, the evidence of a northern Land of the Dead in Dravidian belief does not appear to be fully established.

As is natural in the case of tribes, the more advanced members of which have come under the influence of the Brāhmins, the Dravidian law of orientation of the dead seems to require explanation. Thus some Gonds say that they lay the feet of their dead northwards because it would be improper to turn the back of the corpse in the direction of the Ganges. But the holy river naturally plays no part in the primitive traditions of the Gonds, and the explanation is obviously an invention under Brāhman teaching. The Chamārs, Dravidian leather-dressers in the Central Provinces, also follow the Dravidian law, because, as they say, their heaven lies in the north, or alternatively, that the head of the earth lies to the north, or that in the Satyayuga, the first age of the world, the sun used to rise in the north, but in succeeding ages it has shifted its position round the compass, until in the Kaliyuga,

¹ Professor E. J. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, 1922, p. 43.

the present Iron Age, it has begun to rise in the east.¹ Tribal traditions of this kind are often interesting and valuable. But, especially in the case of tribes who have come in contact with the more advanced culture, they cannot be accepted without careful scrutiny. It was, perhaps, in imitation of Dravidian usage that the Mūndā tribes in Chota Nāgpur and others, like the Juāngs and Korkūs, now lay the head of the dead to the south.² But in the case of many of these tribes we find that the old Dravidian law is in process of modification. This is the case with the Murhās, navvies in Jabalpur, and the Pankā weavers of Mandla, Raipur, and Bilāspur, both pure Dravidians, and with the Rautiās, originally Dravidians but with a strong Aryan intermixture, in Chota Nāgpur.³

The rule of laying the dead facing the setting sun is natural, as it is supposed that "the souls of the dead are attracted by the great luminary, like moths to a candle, and follow him when he sinks in radiant glory in the west".⁴ And, as we have seen, the Rājput conception of the sun as their Valhalla may suggest orientation to the east. In Bombay the Bhoīs, litter-bearers, usually cremate their dead, but those who cannot afford to do so bury them in the sitting posture, with the head turned east or west; the Pendhārī, descendants of the notorious freebooters, bury the dead either lying on the back or in a sitting position, with the head turned east or south; the Ahīr graziers cremate their dead, but those who have not been married or betrothed are buried lying on their backs with the head turned to the east.⁵ The Gadabā or Gadabā, a primitive tribe in the Central Provinces, bury their dead with their faces turned westward, "ready to start for the regions of the setting sun."⁶ The Chakma, a Mongoloid

¹ Russell, op. cit., ii, 412.

² E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 158. [Sir] C. A. Elliott, *Settlement Report Hoshangabad District*, 1867, p. 262. Russell, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 564.

³ Russell, op. cit., vol. iv, pp. 255, 328, 482. For the Rautiās, [Sir] H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. ii, pp. 209 seqq.

⁴ Sir J. G. Frazer, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 175 seq.

⁵ R. E. Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, i, 32, 187; iii, 230.

⁶ Russell, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 12.

race, now intermixed with Bengalis in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, cremate the corpse of a man with its face turned eastward, and that of a woman in the opposite direction.¹ The Rangkol, the earliest immigrants into Assam, follow the North Indian rule in cremating their dead, but members of the Kuki-Lushei group are said to bury them in coffins with their heads turned eastward.² The Khasis place their dead in coffins on the pyre with the head pointing west and the feet east.³ The Bhotiās of the lower Himālaya, in the British Districts of Almora and Garhwāl, wrap the bodies of little children in wool and bury them with the head facing east, the body being laid north and south, but the corpse of an adult is tied on the bier with the face eastward, and it is laid on the pyre in this position.⁴

In this paper only a selection from a large mass of material to be found in the publications of the Ethnographic Survey by Mr. R. E. Enthoven for Bombay, Mr. R. V. Russell for the Central Provinces, and Messrs. E. Thurston and L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer for Southern India, and the monographs issued by the Government of Assam, has been made, and much further information exists in a mass of literature most of which is fugitive and not readily accessible to European students. But the evidence, so far as it has been quoted, seems to support certain conclusions. There is little in favour of the theory that the location of a Land of the Dead depends on prehistoric or historic tribal migrations. In the case of the Assam tribes it is rejected by a leading authority on these races. The case of the Kallans and Gonds is equally untrustworthy because the legends are late and opposed to

¹ T. H. Lewin, *The Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, 184 seq. Id., *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, 74.

² [Sir] E. Gait, *Census Report, Assam*, 1891, vol. i, p. 252, but this fact does not seem to be noticed by Col. J. Shakespear in his *Lushei-Kuki Clans*, 1912.

³ P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, 2nd ed., 1914, p. 133.

⁴ C. A. Sherring, "Notes on the Bhotiās of Almora and British Garhwāl": *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. i, No. 7, pp. 109 seq. Id., *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, 123 seq.

historical evidence. The theory of a prehistoric migration of the Dravidians through Baluchistān, though possible and even probable, lacks confirmation, and other views of the origin of the Dravidians have been proposed. There remains the so-called "solar hypothesis", which in one way or another is the chief factor in regulating the orientation of the dead among the Hindus. Whether the explanation suggested above will hold the field is a different matter. The legend of Yama and his kingdom in the south is admittedly of comparatively late origin, and it may turn out to be based on a fusion of Dravidian beliefs with those of the Northern Hindus. The belief in an underground Pātāla or Tartarus may be based on the original Dravidian custom of inhumation of the dead, while the Aryan Deathland in the sky may be the result of the custom of cremation. The older customs of non-Aryan funeral rites are rapidly disappearing under the teaching of the Brāhmans. The startling difference between the North Indian and the Dravidian law of the orientation of the dead is a question which still awaits solution in the light of further inquiry which it may be hoped will now be devoted to this subject.

Indian Punch-marked Coins

(A Public Coinage issued by Authority)

By E. H. C. WALSH, C.S.I., M.A.

(PLATES XVII-XIX)

IN the present paper, certain points are submitted for consideration with reference to Indian punch-marked coins. They are the result of an examination of two finds of punch-marked coins found in 1917, the one at Patna and the other at Gorho Ghat, north of the Ganges, in the Bhagalpur District of the Province of Bihar and Orissa. My examination of the Patna coins was published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1919, pp. 17-72, and of the Gorho Ghat coins in the same *Journal*, 1919, pp. 463-94.¹ I have since then examined a number of other punch-marked coins which have agreed with and supported the conclusions that were arrived at from the examination of the above two finds.

The term "punch-marked coins" has been adopted by general consent to denote the flat pieces of silver and copper which are marked with various devices impressed on them with a punch, and which formed the earliest coinage of India. They were coined both in silver and in copper, the standard of their weights being different in the two cases. By far the greater number of those that have been found are in silver. The silver coins were cut out of a sheet of metal with a chisel. The copper were, in the same way, cut out of a thicker bar. In this respect they differ from the earliest coins of Asia Minor and of Greece, which were a globule of metal impressed with a punch. In shape they are either oblong, square, oval, or rounded. They are known by the names of *kārshāpaṇa*, *kāhāpaṇa*, *dharāṇa*, and *purāṇa*.

¹ These coins are in the Bihar and Orissa Coin Cabinet in the Patna Museum. The Patna coins are serial's, Nos. 723-830, and the Gorho Ghat coins Nos. 912-59 of the General Register.

The devices on them are impressed, not by means of a die covering the face (*flan*) of the coin, but by separate punches applied irregularly at various points of the surface. The punch-marks on the obverse are larger and, ordinarily, of different devices from those on the reverse.

It has hitherto been generally considered that the Indian punch-marked coins were a purely private issue, and that the marks on them were impressed by moneyers, through whose hands they passed, though in some cases certain of the marks were possibly mint marks or marks of approval by the controlling authorities. This view is thus summed up by Vincent Smith,¹ who says, "It is clear that the punch-marked coinage was a private coinage issued by the Guilds and silversmiths, with the permission of the ruling powers. The numerous obverse punches seem to have been impressed by the different moneyers, through whose hands the pieces passed, and the reverse marks may be regarded as the signs of approval by the controlling authority. But the paucity of records as to the actual provenance of the various types hinders the attainment of well-founded conclusions on the subject." And Professor Rapson² also says: "The symbols punched on to the coin on the *obverse* are supposed to be the private marks of the money changers, while those on the *reverse*, which are invariably fewer in number and of a somewhat different character, may possibly denote the locality in which these coins were issued."

The interest of the finds of coins at Patna and Gorho Ghat, and also of other finds of punch-marked coins to which I shall refer, lies in the fact that an examination of the marks on them shows that they occur in certain constant and regular groups on the obverse, and, although other varying symbols were added to these constant groups, the above regular combinations which cannot have been fortuitous, show that

¹ *Catalogue of Coins in the India Museum, Calcutta* (= *C.I.M.C.*), vol. i, 1906, p. 133.

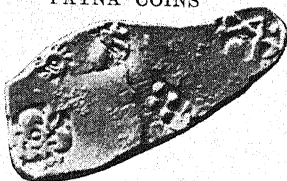
² *Ancient India*, 1914, p. 151.

Runen-marked Coins

PATNA COINS



57



61



83



90



97



98

OBVERSE



20



21



26

REVERSE

GORHO-GHAT COINS



6



8



22



45



46



50



53



54

OBVERSE



4



5



21



23



37



38



50



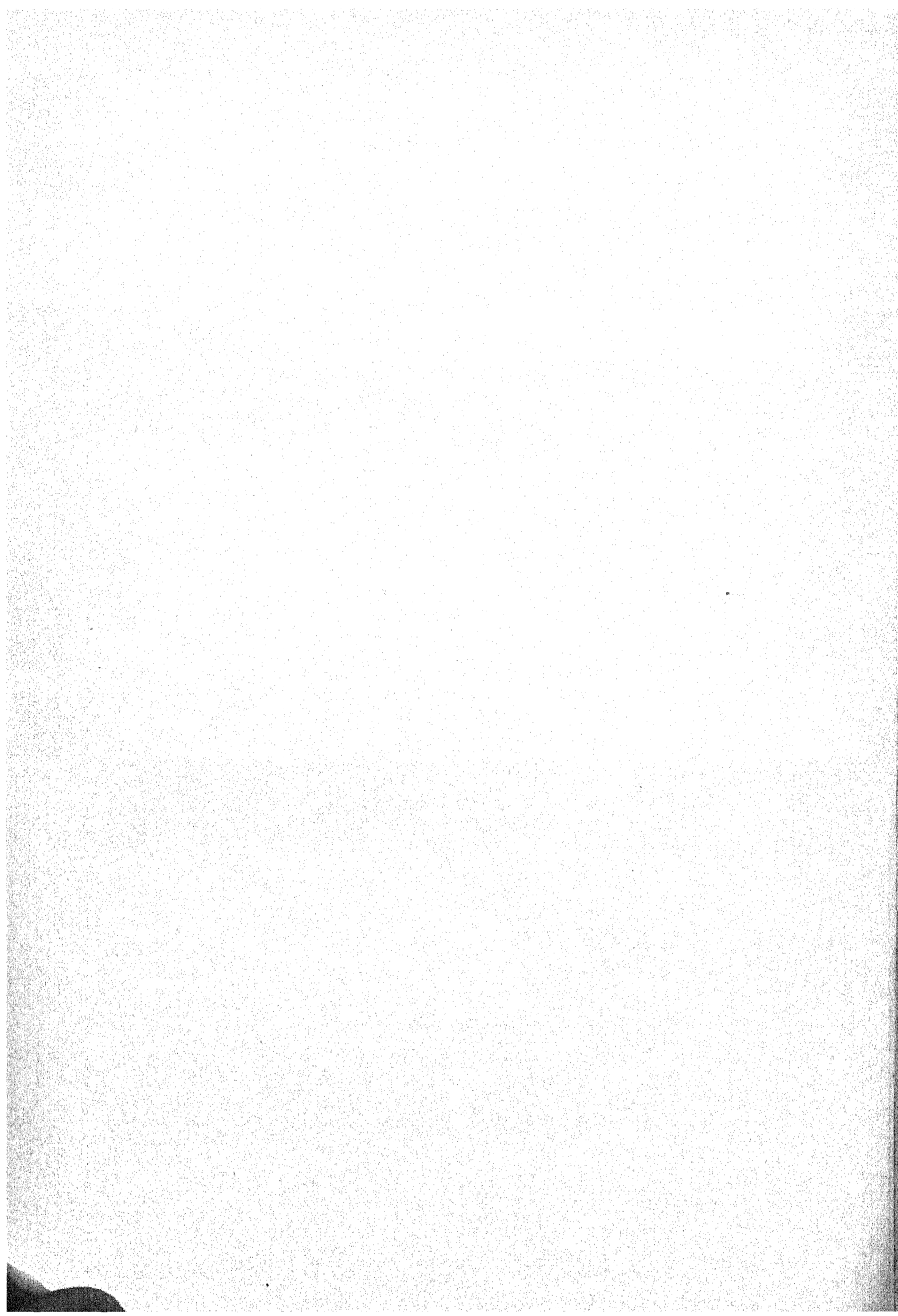
53



54



55



the theory that these marks were affixed haphazard by shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coins passed cannot be maintained, and that the present coins in fact constitute a "coinage".

They also show that the marks on the *obverse* represent the issuing authority, and constitute the coinage, while those on the *reverse* would appear to be the private marks of moneyers through whose hands the coins passed, or, in some cases, to indicate the locality.

In regard to these conclusions, I would also mention that the late Dr. Vincent Smith, whose opinion in regard to punch-marked coins I have quoted above, wrote to me with reference to my paper on the Patna coins, in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, that it had "shown that the coinage was a regular one issued by authority".

The Patna coins were found in July, 1917, buried in an earthen pot on the bank of the Ganges at Golakhpur in Patna city at a depth of fifteen feet below the present surface of the ground at that point. The pot was unearthed owing to the bank of the river having been scoured away by a heavy flood.

On examination of the Patna coins I found that two marks are found on all the coins, namely (1) a figure consisting of three *chhatras* ("umbrellas"), or, perhaps, arrow-heads, and three ovals, alternately, round a central circle¹ (Plate XVIII, Fig. 1); and (2) the Sun. The sun (Fig. 2) does not occur on one coin, No. 108, which only contains two marks, and it appears possible that it may not have been completed. In addition to the above, two other marks, namely Figs. 3 and 4, occur, forming a constant group of four marks, on 63 of the coins (Nos. 1-63).

In addition, each of these coins bears a fifth mark, which varies on different coins, and according to which I have divided Class A into twenty sub-classes.

¹ This type of symbol was found by Schlieman in the lowest stratum at Troy on terra-cotta whorls mixed with stone implements (Schlieman's *Troy*, pp. 80, 313, fig. 227). I would, therefore, for convenience, call it the "Troy Mark".

Sub-class 1 contains 18 coins (Nos. 1-17 and 61) which bear a fifth mark of elephant (Fig. 5); sub-class 2 contains five coins; sub-class 3, four; sub-class 4, nine; sub-class 5, two; but as the additional mark in sub-classes 2 and 3 is in each case a plant, though of a different design, it is probable that the emblem is really the same, and that these two sub-classes are really one class; sub-class 6, five; sub-class 7, one; sub-class 8, two; sub-class 9, one; sub-class 10, four; sub-class 11, two; sub-classes 12 to 19, one each; sub-class 20, two.

Six coins, which I have called Class B, while bearing the above marks (Figs. 1, 2, and 3), have not got the fourth mark (Fig. 4), but in its place have, as a fourth mark, a humped bull (Fig. 6), and have thus, also, a constant group of four marks.

Twenty coins, which I have called Class C, have a constant group of four marks, namely Figs. 1 and 2, as in the previous classes, the two other marks being a lion, or, perhaps, a tiger (Fig. 7), and a bull's or cow's head with a garland round the neck (Fig. 8). Two of these (sub-class 2) have also an additional mark of a branch (Fig. 13).

Eleven coins, which I have called Class D, have a constant group of marks (Figs. 1 and 2), and a third mark, elephant *left* (Fig. 9). Five of these, sub-class 1, have a fourth mark (Fig. 42). The fourth mark in the other coins of this class is different in each of the four sub-classes.

Seven coins, which I have called Class E, have the two fixed marks (Figs. 1 and 2), together with additional marks which vary.

When I made the above classification I was not aware that a similar conclusion, that the marks on punch-marked coins occur in regular groups, had been arrived at from the examination of previous finds.

I subsequently came to know that Dr. D. B. Spooner came to the same conclusion from the examination of a find of sixty-one punch-marked coins, which were found at Peshawar

in 1906¹; and Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar came to a similar conclusion from the examination of a find of eighty-three punch-marked coins found during the excavation at Besnagar.² The coins in the latter case were copper.

The conclusion to which Dr. Spooner came from the examination of the Peshawar coins is as follows :—

“ It has been stated by various authorities that the symbols are arbitrary figures, the arbitrary marks of particular moneyers, perhaps, and that they were punched into these coins from time to time by these different authorities as they chanced to come into their hands. But my tabulation of the marks occurring on the coins of the present collection tends directly to a refutation of this view. The above-mentioned group of five symbols occurs on twenty of the sixty-one coins in the collection, with one symbol regularly in each corner, and one, with like regularity, the dharmacakra, impressed on the edge and overlapping the nearest two. This alone would have rendered the old theory doubtful, but when it is added that in every case where the punch-mark on the reverse was decipherable, it was found to be what Cunningham called the ‘Taxila mark’, we have an invariable concomitance established between a particular group of five symbols on the obverse and a particular ‘mint-mark’ on the reverse, which cannot conceivably be lacking in significance, and which points decidedly to these coins having been the regular coinage of some one accepted central authority, and the symbols or their selection the recognized insignia of the same, *not* the private marks of individual moneyers impressed haphazard from time to time.”³

¹ *Archæological Survey of India Annual Report* (= *ASIR.*), 1905-6, p. 150.

² *ASIR.* 1913-14, pp. 210-13, 220-6.

³ *ASIR.* 1905-6, p. 153.

[NOTE.—The mark which Dr. Spooner refers to as the “dharmacakra” is the Sun Mark, Plate XVIII, Fig. 2, which Dr. Spooner subsequently recognized it to be. (*Vide* “The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History”: *JRAS.* 1915, p. 413.)]

The late Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I.C.S., also came to the same conclusion from the examination of a most extensive and important find of 1,245 punch-marked coins, found at Paila in the Kheri district of the United Provinces.

Mr. Campbell kindly let me see his Treasure Trove Report and his notes on the Paila coins. He has found that they bear a group of four marks on the obverse, which is constant for each class of coins, and has classified them according to such groups, as follows :—

Class I, 291 coins ; Class II, 481 coins ; Class III, 254 coins ; Class IV, 5 coins ; Class IV α , 6 coins ; Class V, 44 coins ; Class VI, 4 coins ; Class VII, 2 coins ; Class VIII, 1 coin ; coins of the type of Class I, II, or III, but with distinctive symbol missing or obscure, 138 coins ; the remainder being 12 broken pieces and 7 corroded.

Mr. Campbell also let me see the list of the figures of the marks on these coins.

It is a matter for regret that Mr. Campbell did not live to publish the results of his examination of those coins.

Another extensive and important find of 2,873 punch-marked coins was found at Patraha in the Purnea district of the Province of Bihar and Orissa in 1913 in the bed of a small river which had been scoured out by the water. Rivers in India, which frequently change their courses, are great excavators. I was not able to examine these coins before leaving India. They have since been examined by Mr. R. D. Banerji, the Treasure Trove Officer for the Province. I am not aware that the results have yet been published.

I had, however, the opportunity of examining the marks on a certain number of those coins, and feel confident that a detailed examination will still further confirm the conclusions from the other finds already referred to.

In the preceding remarks I have referred to the find of punch-marked coins at Patna. The subsequent find of punch-marked coins at Gorho Ghat fully confirm the conclusions already mentioned.

The Gorho Ghat coins are fifty-eight in number. They are of silver, thicker and consequently, as will be seen from the examples given on Plate XVII, much smaller in size than the Patna coins, and are not debased by the addition of copper as in the case of many coins of the Patna find. Some labourers found in a garden, "at knee-depth" below the surface, an earthen pot which contained the coins and a copper *kangana* (bracelet) covered over with goldleaf, and some beads. They found "a portion of land was surrounded by brick wall under the ground having a gap in the middle for putting some pot". It would therefore appear that the coins formed part of a deposit in a stūpa or reliquary, and, from the fact that they were found so much nearer the surface than the Patna coins, they would appear to be of later date.

As in the case of the Patna coins, the marks on the obverse of the Gorho Ghat coins occur in certain fixed groups, and there are certain marks which are common to a number of coins, and consequently these coins also fall into certain distinct classes. The coins are of three entirely distinct kinds, which would appear to come from entirely different areas and governments.

Coins Nos. 1 to 52 are of one kind, and all bear the "Troy Mark" in different variants; coins Nos. 1 to 40, in the form of Plate XIX, Fig. 1, and coins Nos. 41 to 52, in the variants of this form, Figs. 1 (a) to 1 (e). They all also bear the Sun mark (Fig. 2).

They all bear five marks, neither more nor less.

The "Troy Mark" on the present coins is only another variety of the same mark of the Patna coins, Plate XVIII, Fig. 1, which coins also all bear the Sun mark, Fig. 2. Assuming that this prevailing mark, Fig. 1, was the Empire mark (like Britannia on English coins), these coins would be coins of the same empire as the Golakhpur coins.

Three coins, Nos. 53, 54, and 55, are of an entirely different kind. They bear only three marks, instead of five, and do not bear either the Troy mark or the Sun, which are the constant marks on all the other coins, Nos. 1 to 52.

One of the three marks on those three coins is the "Cotton bale" mark or "Caduceus", Plate XIX, Fig. 4. The third mark (three human figures in a row), Fig. 54, only occurs on these three coins.

If these coins were a deposit in a reliquary, as would seem probable, it is not unlikely that the depositor, who might have been on pilgrimage, should have deposited amongst the coins those of two other kingdoms or states that he had visited.

The marks on the first kind of coins (Nos. 1 to 52) fall into certain classes, each of which bear a common group of marks.

Fifty-two coins bear three constant marks, Plate XIX, Figs. 1 and 2, and the "Hill mark", which occurs as Fig. 3 on coins Nos. 1-32, and in its modified form, Figs. 3*a*-3*e*, in fixed groups respectively on coins Nos. 33-52. The remaining two marks fall into different fixed groups.

We thus have a fixed group of three marks, together with two additional marks, which vary in different fixed classes of coins, as in the case of the Patna coins.

From the above results, which hold good in the case of the examination of over 1,600 punch-marked coins found in such different parts of India as Bihar, the North-West Frontier Province, the United Provinces, and Central India, it is clear that the marks on the obverse of punch-marked coins occur in certain regular groups and must therefore have been affixed in accordance with some definite and recognized system. The present theory that they are the private marks of moneyers through whose hands the coins passed must therefore be abandoned.

Another fact which strongly supports the conclusion that the marks on the punch-marked coins represented definite groups of recognized authorities is that fixed groups of these marks were adopted in the cast coins which followed, and were evidently derived from the punch-marked coins.

It therefore remains to consider by what authorities or on what system these marks may have been affixed. The

question is of great interest, as punch-marked coins are the earliest Indian archæological "document" that exists, and that may throw light on the early history of India.

The case of the marks on the reverse of these coins is different, and will be considered later. As will be seen, they would appear to be the private marks of moneyers, or in some cases the mark of locality in which the coin was recognized for circulation.

The essential part of the coinage was the *rupa*, or marks stamped on them. Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar refers to the expressions such as *rūpam chhinditvā kata māsako*, or *rupam sāmuthāpetvā kata māsako*, used by the Commentary *Sāmanta pāsādikā* on the *Nisaggiya pāchitiya*. It is these marks stamped on the *purāṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* which constituted the coinage.¹

The Artha Śāstra,² in referring to the duties of the Collector General of Revenue, mentions *rupika*, the meaning of which appears to be premia or seignorage on coins. It also enumerates in detail the duties of the Superintendent of the Mint.

From the passage it appears that in the Artha Śāstra, which deals with matters of the Mauryan age, coinage was a royal prerogative carried on in the royal mints. The marks on the coins would therefore primarily be royal or state marks and not the marks of individual moneyers through whose hands the coins passed.

It would also appear, from the duties of the "Examiner of Coins", that besides the royal mints there were other authorities who were authorized to issue coinage. Such authorities may have been the *saṅghas*, or communities of groups of villages, and also, perhaps, guilds of merchants. Professor Rapson is also of this opinion.³

¹ "Excavations at Besnagar," by R. D. Bhandarkar, M.A., *ASIR*. 1913-14, p. 210.

² Kautilyā's *Artha Śāstra*, translated by R. Shamasastri, B.A., M.R.A.S., Government Oriental Library Series. *Bibliotheca Sanskrita*, No. 37, pt. ii, Bangalore Government Press, 1915.

³ "Counter Marks on Persian and Indian Coins," by E. J. Rapson, M.A., *JRAS*. 1895, p. 871.

As will be seen later, such coins would also appear to bear the royal marks as well as the separate marks indicating the special coinage.

It may be suggested, to account for a constant group of marks, that one mark may represent the state, one the reigning king, one the place where the coin was struck, and perhaps one a religious mark recognizing the presiding deity; also the master of the mint may have had his mark, which would fix his responsibility for the coin, and the additional varying marks may have been those of the *saṅghas*, village communities, in which the coin was current, affixed at the time the *rupiya* or local tax on it was levied on its admission to circulation in that jurisdiction. And the various and unsystematic punches on the reverse would appear to have been the marks of private shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coin passed in the course of circulation.

In this connexion Mr. K. P. Jayswal has called my attention to a rule laid down by Pāṇini: "*Saṅgh—āṅka-lakṣhaṇeshv—āñ-yañ-iñām—añ*," the meaning of which is "*añ*-suffix takes place in nouns ending in *añ*, *yañ* *añ* in the case of (i.e. to denote) *aṅkas* and *lakṣhaṇas* of *saṅghas*"; which shows that a *Saṅgha* had its *aṅka* or *lakṣhaṇa*, which latter Mr. Jayaswal would identify with the *lāṅchhana*, or heraldic crest of later Sanskrit.

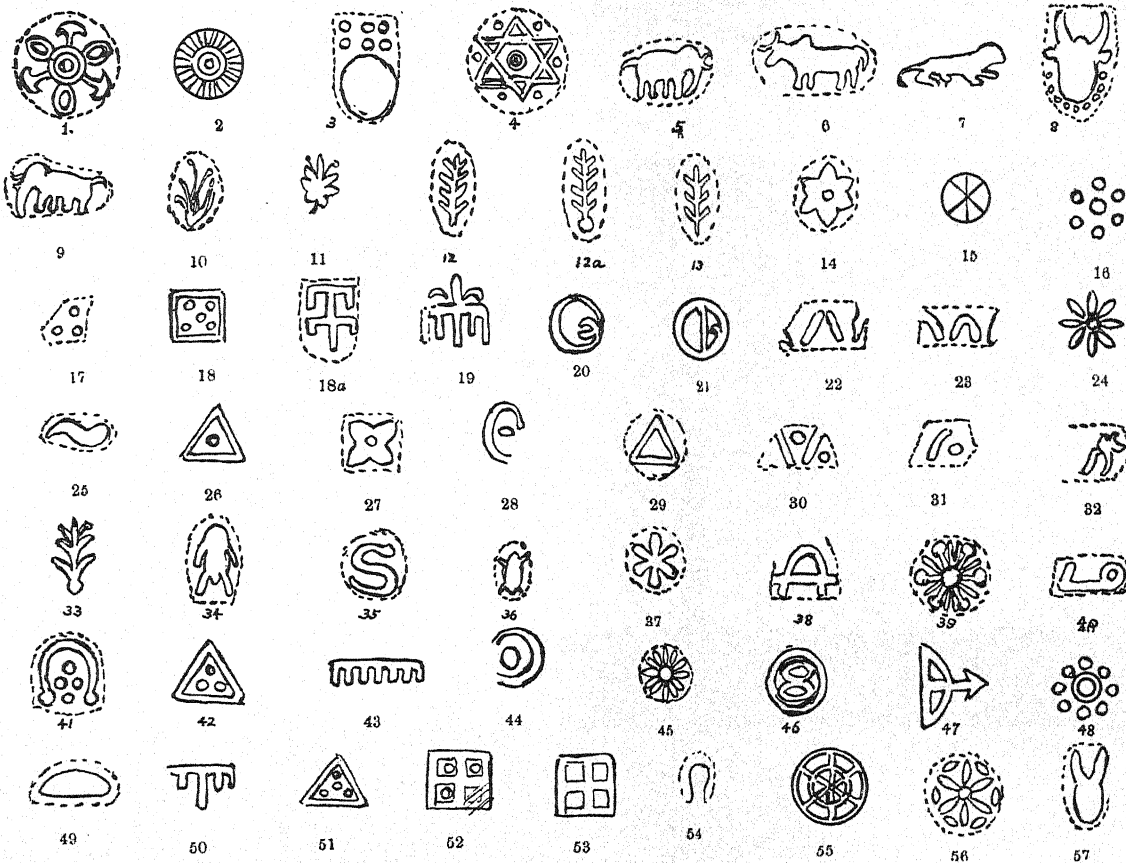
The word *Rājā-anka*, "the royal mark," or the "king's arms", occurs in the Artha Śāstra, and would therefore appear to be the personal mark of the ruler. In the same way, while each *saṅgha* had its own *lakṣhaṇa*, the elected body of rulers for the time being may have had its own personal *aṅka*, which remained in use during its term of office and was given up when that body went out of office. This would account for the large number of different marks which are found on punch-marked coins.

That the *aṅka* was the personal mark or emblem adopted by the individual, the king in the case of a state and the governing body in the case of a *saṅgha*, would also seem to be

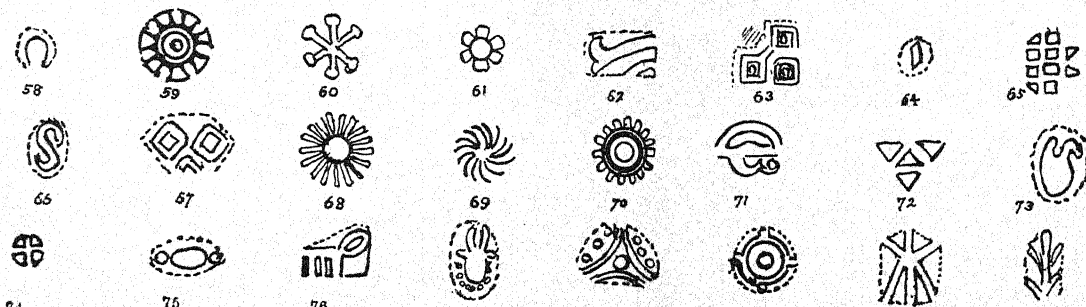
Punch-marked Coins.

PATNA.

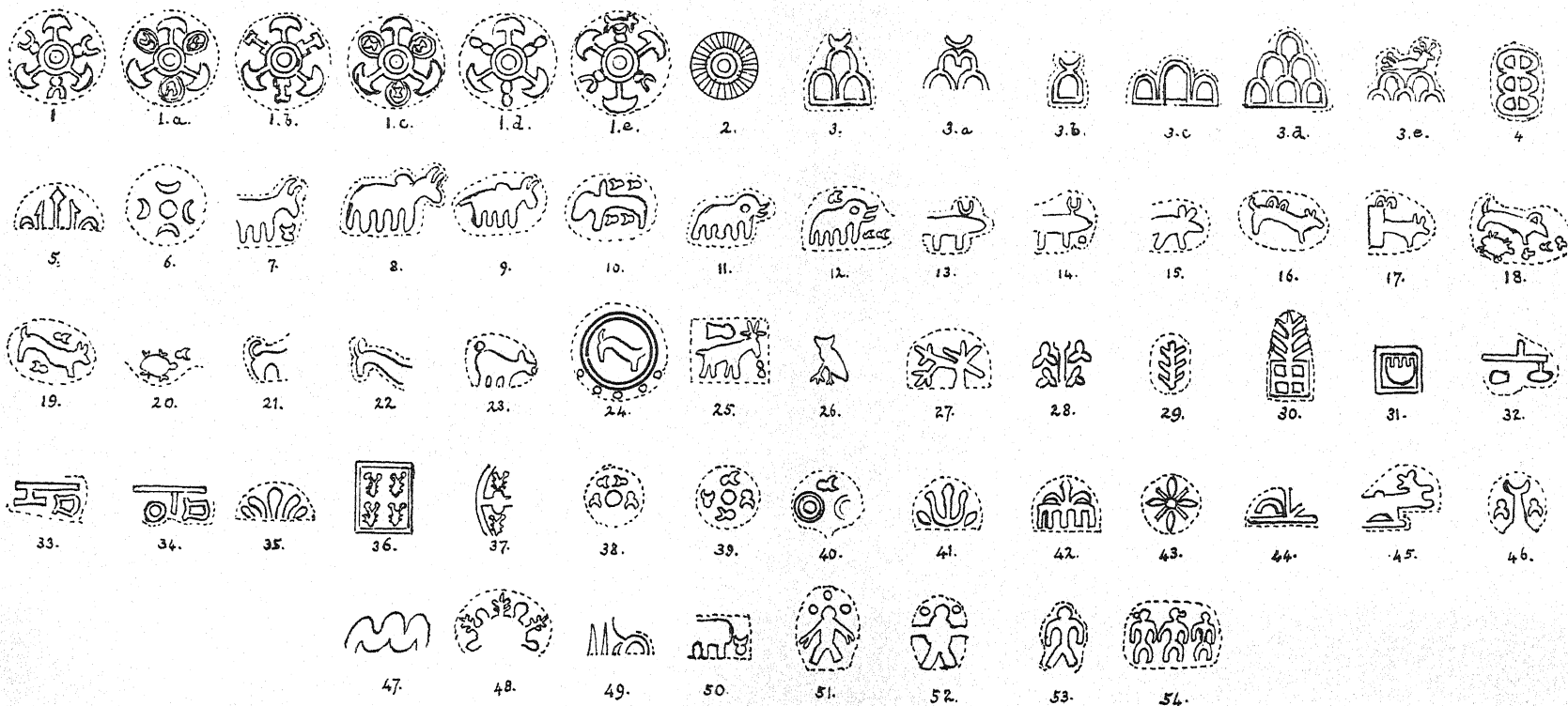
MARKS ON THE OBERSE.



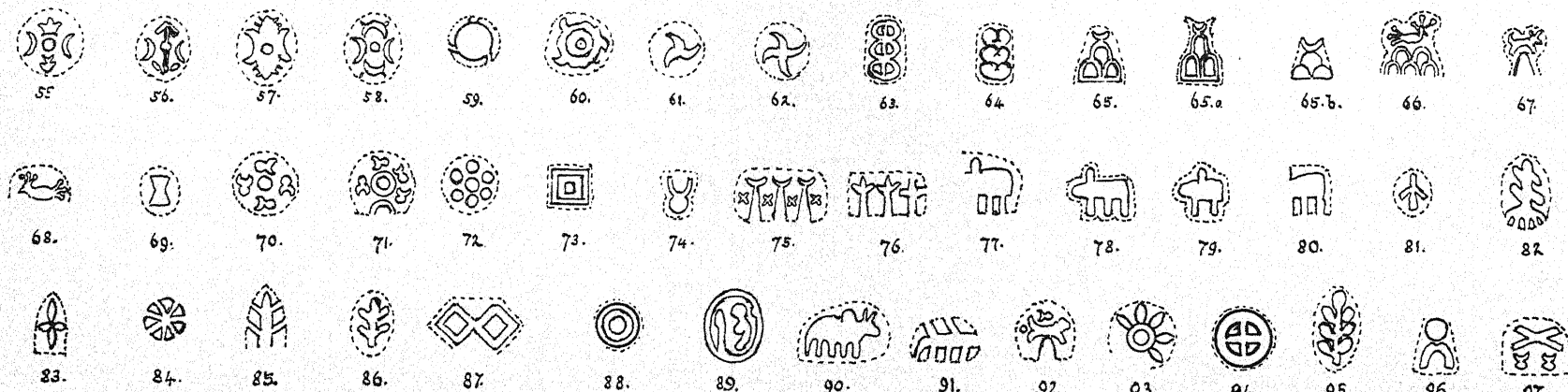
MARKS ON THE REVERSE.

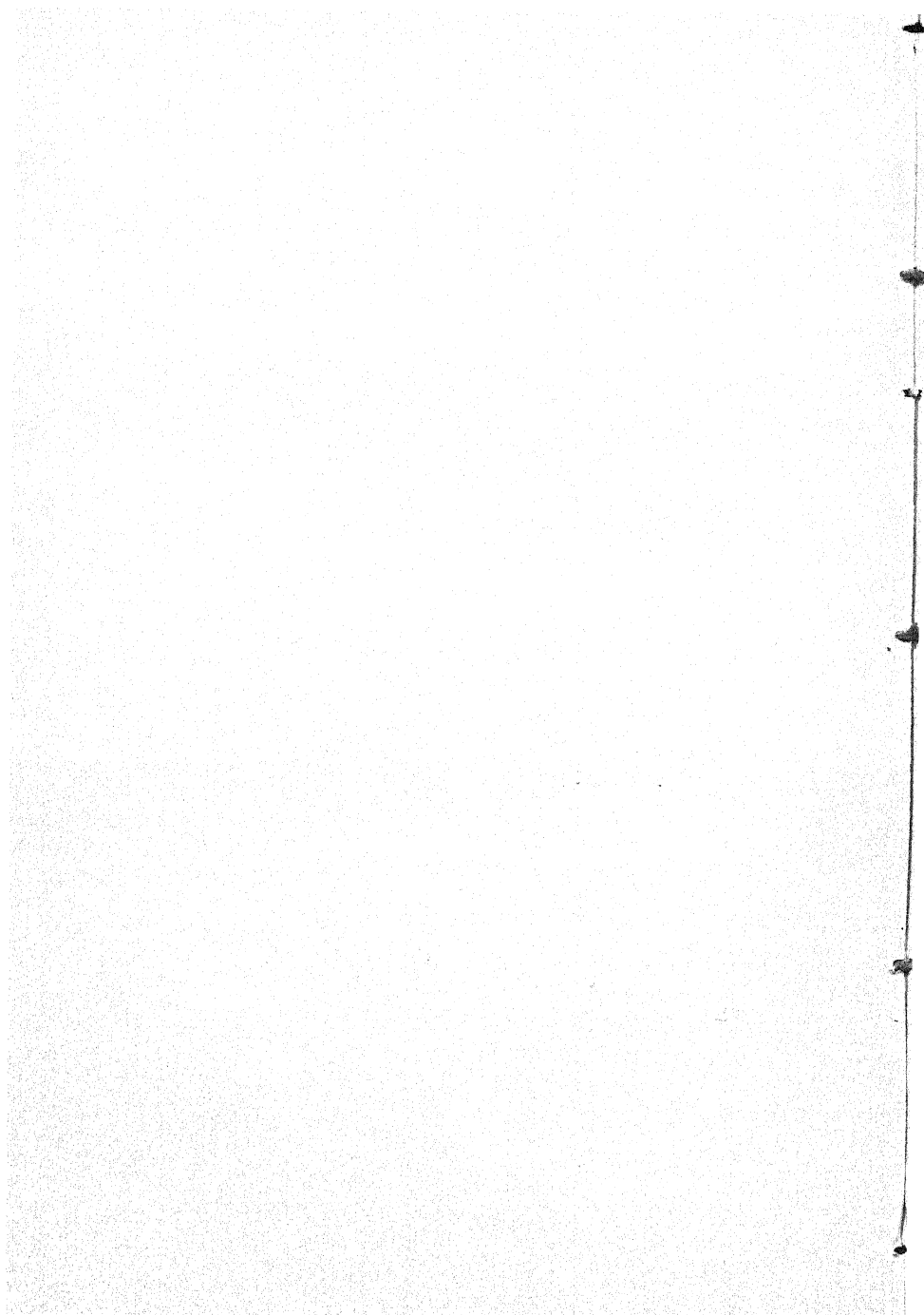


Punch-marked Coins.

GORHO GHAT.
MARKS ON THE OBERSE.

MARKS ON THE REVERSE.





borne out by the inscription "Srimānāṅka" and "Sṛigunāṅka" on the early coins of Nepal figured by Cunningham in figs. 1 and 2 on plate xiii of *Coins of Ancient India*. Cunningham has taken these to be the names of the respective kings. But they are given in the Nepal dynastic lists as Māna Deva and Guṇa Deva. I would therefore read these two legends as "the *āṅka* (mark) of Sri Māna" and "the *āṅka* of Sri Guṇa",¹ the *āṅkas* in those cases being, respectively, a lion and a seated goddess.

The number and variety of the marks on punch-marked coins is very great, and each new find adds numbers of marks. Until our present sources of information are added to, the significance of the marks on punch-marked coins must remain the subject of speculation and surmise.

Two marks occur together on all the Patna coins, and also on fifty-two of the Gorho Ghat coins, namely, the "Troy Mark", consisting of three arrows or umbrellas (*chhatras*) and three ovals alternately round a central circle (Plate XVIII, Fig. 1, and Plate XIX, Figs. 1-1e), and the Sun mark, Fig. 2. These two marks also occur together on fifty out of the sixty-one coins found at Peshawar described by Dr. Spooner,² and one or other of them occurs on the remaining coins. They also occur generally together on many other punch-marked coins which have been described.³

They do not, however, occur on any of the 1,226 coins found at Paila, though other forms of the solar symbol appear on the reverse of some of those coins.

As already noted, several varieties of the first symbol (Plate XVIII, Fig. 1, and Plate XIX, Figs. 1-1e) are given by Theobald,⁴ who notes that its great antiquity is shown by the fact that it was found by Schlieman in the lowest stratum of the excavations at Troy; on terra-cotta whorls mixed with stone implements.⁴

¹ E. H. C. Walsh, "The Coinage of Nepal": *JRAS.* 1898, p. 669.

² *ASIR.* 1905-6, pp. 156, 157.

³ E.g. *CIMC.*, vol. i, pl. xix, figs. 2, 5-8, 11. Also *CAI.*, pl. i, figs. 1-8, 13, and pl. ii (Taxila), figs. 1, 2.

⁴ *JASB.* 1890, pp. 215, 216 (Marks Nos. 27-33).

From the general prevalence of these two marks it may be possible that the Sun mark is a mark indicating religion, and the Troy mark is the mark of the supreme government. If this is so, it would indicate that the Paila coins were not coins under the same supreme government as the others mentioned.

With reference to the signification of the marks, Mr. Bhandarkar quotes a passage from the *Vissuddhimagga of Buddhaghosha* on the subject, which shows that a shroff would be able after examining the coins to decide "which of them were struck at which village, borough, town, mountain, and river bank, and also by what mint master. It is thus clear that every place whose coinage was issued had its own distinguishing mark stamped on it, and in confirmation of it may be noted that on the majority of *kārshāpaṇas* unearthed at Besnagar the device of the river is prominently noticeable, indicative probably of the Vetravati (Betwā). Consequently, we may safely conclude that these *kārshāpaṇas* which have the mountain or the river on them were struck at those places, and in order that the different mountains and rivers may be distinguished we find them differently figured. Figs. 46-52 on plate viii of Mr. Theobald's article (*JBAS.*, vol. lix, pl. i), e.g., shows how an attempt is made to distinguish one mountain from another on *kārshāpaṇas*".¹

The *Vissuddhimagga* was written in Ceylon at some date before A.D. 450, and may therefore refer to punch-marked coins of a much later date, as this form of coinage continued in Southern India much later than in other parts of India. The principles of the marks, however, would be continuous from the earlier coins.

The animals on *purāṇas* may be the *lakṣhaṇas* or emblems of the *saṅghas*, or be the *aṅkas* of particular rulers or governing bodies; for instance, the *Mahābhārata* says that the standard

¹ R. D. Bhandarkar, M.A., "Excavations at Besnagar," *ASIR*. 1913-14, p. 212.

[NOTE.—Hill marks, such as those figured by Theobald, occur on the Gorho Ghat coins, Pl. XIX, Figs. 3-3e. They do not occur on the Patna coins, which is as might be expected, as there are no hills anywhere near Patna.]

of the Brihadratha dynasty of Magadha, which came to an end about 727 B.C., bore a bull on it. They may also indicate the names of places.

If the early punch-marked coinage was the outcome of the Dravidian civilization, there may, possibly, be a connexion between the animals adopted as *lakshanas* and the totems of clans.

An indication of the order in which the marks were punched on the coins is shown in some cases by certain marks being punched over others. Thus, the mark of interlaced triangles, Plate XVIII, Fig. 4, has been punched over marks Fig. 3 and Fig. 5 on Patna coin No. 4; and over mark Fig. 1 on coin No. 57. Mark Fig. 10 has been punched over mark Fig. 4 on coin No. 22; mark Fig. 20 has been punched over mark Fig. 1 on coin No. 50; mark Fig. 26 has been punched over the Sun mark, Fig. 2, on coin No. 57; and an indistinct mark has been punched over mark Fig. 1 on coin No. 68.

This would show that the principal marks, Figs. 1 and 2, which occur on all the coins were punched on before other marks. It would also appear from the surface of the coins that all the obverse marks were punched on the metal when heated, and so, probably, at one time.

THE REVERSE MARKS

The marks on the reverse of the present coins, as is invariably found in punch-marked coins, are of an entirely different type to those on the obverse, and are less deeply punched. And when they represent the same objects they are smaller than the similar obverse mark.

In the Patna coins only three obverse marks of the same size occur on the reverse, viz. Figs. 16, 18, and 24. Except the above, where the same marks occur on the reverse as on the obverse, they are either somewhat different in design, or, where they are the same in design, are smaller than the similar marks on the obverse.

Reverse marks are found on only thirty-eight of the 108

Patna coins, and there is no uniformity amongst them. Only two marks (Fig. 59 and obverse Fig. 16) occur on four coins, one mark (Fig. 62) on three coins, one mark (Fig. 66) occurs twice, and the others are marks which occur only once.

Similarly, in the case of the Gorho Ghat coins, only five of the forty-three marks which occur on the reverse of those coins are similar to marks on the obverse, and in every one of these cases the reverse marks are considerably smaller than the similar marks on the obverse. This is particularly noticeable where a similar mark occurs on the obverse and reverse of the same coin.

That there is no general uniformity amongst the reverse marks is also the case in the coins found at Paila. Mr. Campbell's Treasure Trove Report, and his list of marks, which he has kindly let me see, show that while, as already noted, only thirteen marks occur in certain fixed groups on the obverse of 1,226 coins, no less than 89 marks, in which also all varieties of the same object have been included under one number, occur on the reverse.

Among the punch-marked coins from Afghanistan described by Mr. R. D. Banerji,¹ out of the 39 rectangular coins, 11, namely one-fourth, bear no mark on the reverse, and out of the five "Roughly Circular or Oval Coins" two, namely more than one-third, bear no mark on the reverse.

It will thus be seen that the marks on the reverse of the old silver punch-marked coins that have hitherto been brought to light are of an entirely different nature to those on the obverse. On a great number of coins no marks occur at all on the reverse, and where they occur there is usually no uniformity, and they do not occur in accordance with any fixed system.

There are, however, exceptions to the above statement, namely, the coins of Taxila and the Peshawar find, the majority of which bear the "Taxila mark",² which has been considered

¹ *JASB.* 1910, p. 227.

² The Taxila mark (Pl. XIX, Fig. 55) occurs on the reverse of three of the

to be a mint mark, on the reverse, and the coins found at Eran, which would appear to be of later date.

The marks on the reverse may, therefore, be the private marks of merchants or money changers through whose hands the coins passed.

Professor Rapson has suggested that the reverse marks may be the official stamp of the local authority, and indicate that the coin had been tested and sanctioned within that area.¹

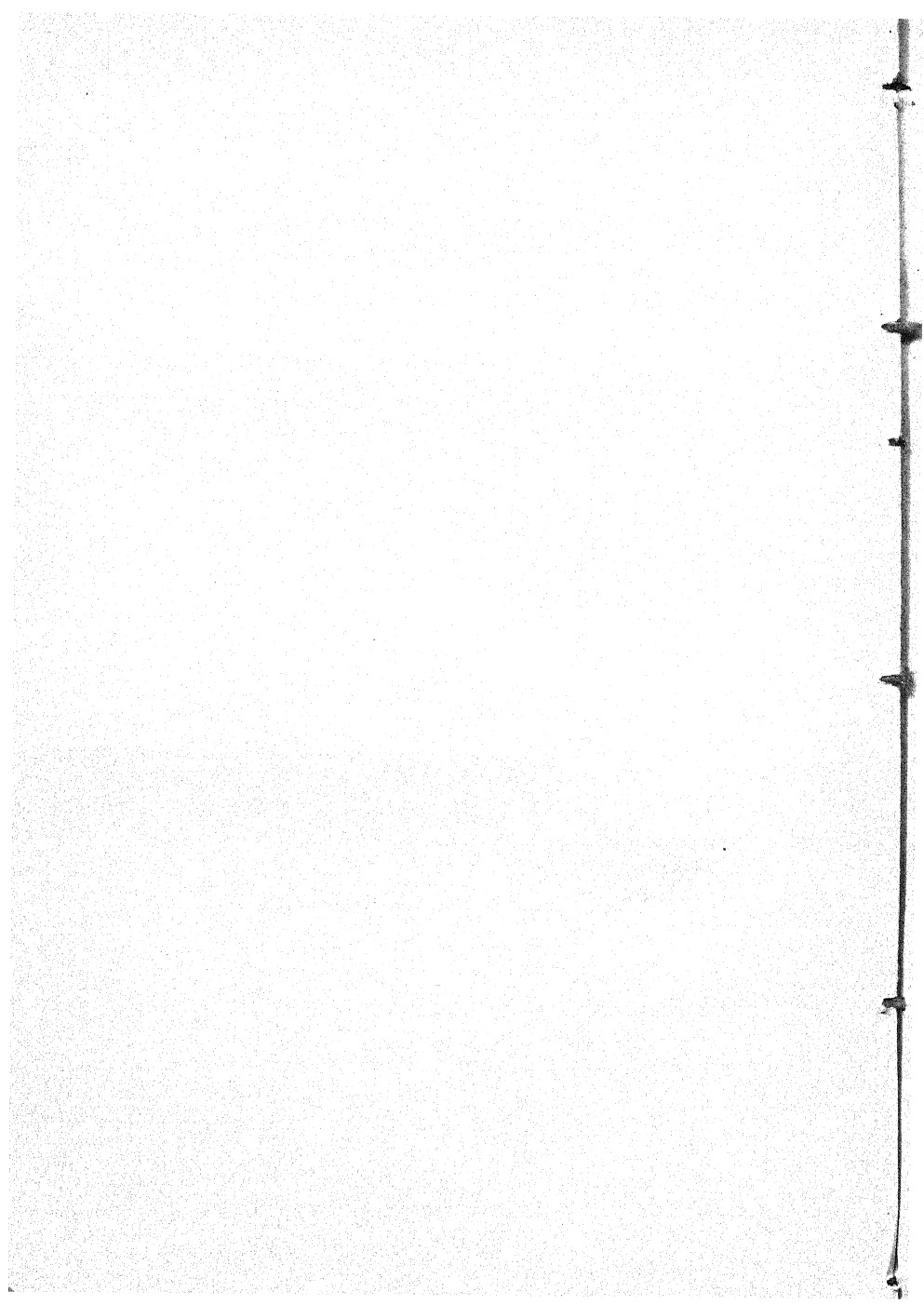
With regard to this, however, the facts already noticed appear to show that the marks on the obverse are the official marks. And, also, if the marks on the reverse were those of testing authorities, it might be expected that there would be more uniformity amongst the marks found on the reverse of coins found in the same locality. It would, however, seem quite likely that those marks found on the reverse which are of similar design to, though usually smaller than, corresponding obverse marks, are the official marks of the testing authority indicated by the corresponding obverse mark, and may be smaller so as to distinguish the testing marks from the original mintage marks.

The marks of moneyers on the reverse may, as Cunningham has suggested, indicate their names, e.g. the "Sun" for Surya Das, a Snake for Naga Sen, etc.²; or may be the emblems of their castes or clans.

With coins of this class extending over such a long period, and such extended area as the whole of India, all the results obtained from the examination of coins of a particular period, or locality, will not necessarily be applicable to coins of other periods or distant localities, in which other forms of government and other conditions may have prevailed.

¹ *JRAS.* 1895, p. 874.

² *CAI.*, p. 58.



Sivaji as Known to his Western Contemporaries

BY JUSTIN E. ABBOTT

ŚIVĀJĪ occupies so prominent a place in the history of the Marathas that many European and Indian writers have made him the subject of their study and works. Among writers in English we are especially indebted to five: Robert Orme,¹ official historian to the East India Company; James Grant Duff²; H. G. Rawlinson³; C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnis⁴; Jadunath Sarkar.⁵

These writers, either in their prefaces or in the body of their works, mention the original sources to which they are indebted for their information. Orme depended almost entirely on European accounts of Śivājī. He quotes no Maratha author. He refers to one Muhamedan source only, Manuchi, of whom he says: "Manuchi accompanied Sultan Mauzum in all his campaigns against Sevagi, concerning whom he furnished Catrou with more information than is to be found in any other writer." Grant Duff had available not only the material Orme's great industry had collected, but a large addition of Maratha and Muhamedan sources unknown to Orme. Rawlinson and Kincaid and Parasnis have worked over old material with very little new added, unknown to Grant Duff. The new is chiefly the valuable original Marathi correspondence in the possession of Mr. Parasnis. Jadunath Sarkar has made a very complete bibliography of Śivājī, and his special contribution of original sources has been from Muhamedan writers contemporary with Śivājī and later.

¹ *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes (Marathas), and of the English Concerns in Indostan from the year MDCLIX.* First edition, 1782; second edition, 1805.

² *History of the Mahrattas*, London, 1826.

³ *Shivaji the Maratha*, Oxford, 1915.

⁴ *A History of the Maratha People*, Oxford Press, 1918.

⁵ *Shivaji and his Times*, 1st ed., Calcutta, 1919; 2nd ed., 1920.

I will here call attention to two other original sources of information, one a Dutch source and the other English, both contemporary with Śivāji. So far as I have been able to discover, these two sources are unknown to those interested in the study of the life of Śivāji, and have never been utilized by his historians. As to their historical value I am unable to pronounce, as I have given them only a cursory and partial examination. The two are the following :—

1. The *Dagh Register Gehouden int Casteel Batavia*. This *Dagh Register* has been edited and published, covering the years 1624 to 1681 with some omissions. The volumes cover the following years: 1624-9, 1631-4, 1636, 1637, 1640-1, 1643-4, 1644-5, 1647-8, 1653, 1656-7, 1659, 1661, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666-7, 1668-9, 1670-1, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681. The *Dagh Register* was a diary kept in Batavia, in which were included abstracts of news from India, and it contains very many references to Śivāji. This *Dagh Register* has, of course, not been unknown to English-speaking scholars, but it has not been noticed by scholars especially interested in Śivāji. Attention was recently called to this *Dagh Register* by W. H. Moreland in his article "Dutch Sources for Indian History", appearing in the *Journal of Indian History*.

2. Fourteen volumes, preserved in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, containing original correspondence from Bombay, Surat, and other places addressed to the Secretary of State. These volumes are to be found with the marking C.O.77. This correspondence covers the period from 1570 to 1686. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. i, p. 485, calls attention to a letter regarding Śivāji, which he noticed in this original correspondence; but aside from this reference I know of no other by any author who has examined or used this original material in his study of the life of Śivāji. What the relation may be, if any, between this original correspondence in the Public Record Office and that found in the India Office I do not know.

The Bibliography of Śivāji is considerable, as may be seen in the ten pages devoted to it in Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and his Times*; but the only portion of importance to students of Śivāji is the material contemporary with Śivāji. The historical character of the material available in the India Office, in the Public Record Office, in the accounts of Dr. Fryer, in the *Dagh Register*, in the accounts of French, Dutch, and other travellers, lifts it far above the later traditional Maratha and Muhamedan accounts, and is abundant. This material lies, however, in manuscript form, or in rare prints, for the most part, and the object of this paper is to call attention to this fact, and to suggest that all the various contemporary references to Śivāji, made by Europeans in their letters, and in other forms, should be collected into one volume, so as to become available to all students, and especially to Indian students, to whom this material must be of intense interest. Without access to these and other original sources it is impossible to form an independent judgment regarding important events in the life of Śivāji.

Such a volume would contain extracts from all references to Śivāji found in contemporary records. It would include :—

1. Extracts from the original correspondence found in the India Office.
2. Extracts from original correspondence under the title Factory Records of Bombay, Surat, etc. (F. R.)
3. Extracts from the original correspondence found in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, designated as C.O. 77.
4. Extracts from the *Dagh Register*.
5. Extracts from the Dutch Records, found in the Dutch Archives at The Hague, Holland.
6. Extracts from the Bombay State papers (Maratha Series, vol. i). (See Forrest's Selections.)
7. Extracts from Dr. John Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia*.

Robert Orme, in his *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire and of the Morattoes (Marathas)*, n. 7, p. 171, gives a list of travellers and others who have mentioned Śivāji in their accounts of their travels, so far as known to him, as follows (Nos. 8-15):—

8. Tavernier : resident in India at various intervals from 1642 to 1666.

9. Bernier : arrived at Surat in 1665.

10. Thevenot : arrived at Surat in 1665.

11. Carré : arrived at Surat in 1668.

12. Dellon : arrived at Surat in 1669.

13. De Graaf : his first voyage from Holland in 1640, his last 1687.

14. Monsieur de la Haye : arrived at Surat in 1671.

15. The account of Father Navarette.

16. *Histoire du Sevagi et de son Successeur Nouveau Conquerans Dans les Indes*, par le R. P. Pierre Joseph d'Orléans de la Compagnie de Jésus, Paris, 1688. I have seen a copy of this in the Public Library, New York, and in the British Museum. Though this work was known to Orme, no writer on Śivāji since then has referred to it.

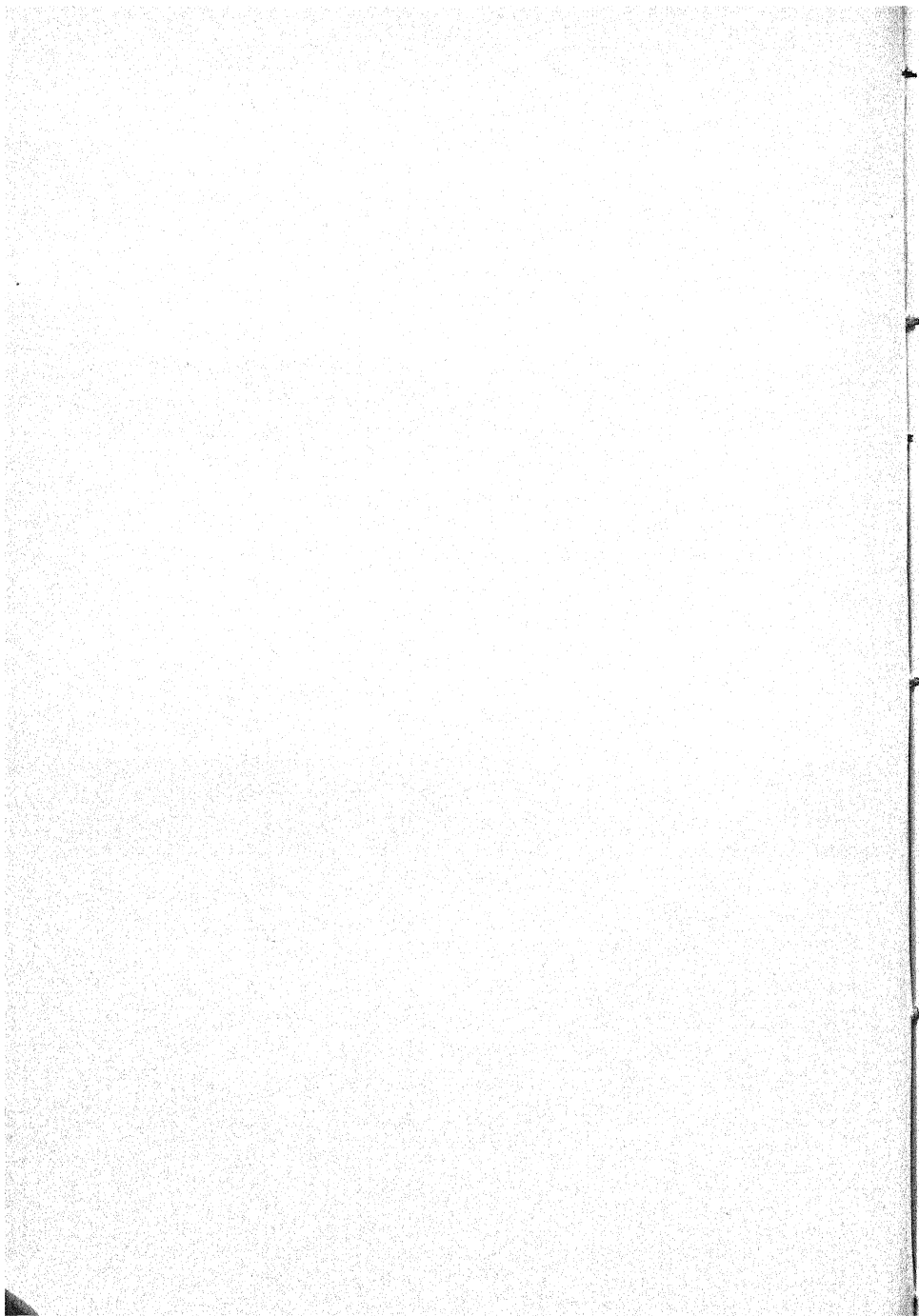
17. *Vida e acçoens do famoso e felicissimo Sevegy, Da India Oriental Escrita por Cosme Da Guarda natural de Mormugão*, a Portuguese work composed in 1695, first noticed by Jadunath Sarkar, but unused by him. (See preface to first edition of *Shivaji and his Times*.) I have seen a copy of this rare work in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, and in the library of the British Museum. Orme makes no reference to this work.

The above list may not be complete. Diligent search in European libraries may disclose forgotten books covering the Śivāji period and referring to him.

A similar collection of original material from Indian sources is also to be desired. It would include all contemporary correspondence, Marathi and Muhamedan. Also the account of Śivāji by Krishnāji Ananta Sabhāsad, composed probably in 1697, seventeen years after the death of Śivāji. This is the

only known contemporary Maratha account of Śivāji. The collection would include also the account of Manuchi and of such other contemporary Muhamedan authors, of whom Mr. Jadunath Sarkar says in his preface (1st edition, 1919): "I have, on the other hand, relied on the absolutely contemporary official histories of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, Muhammed and Ali Adil Shah, many historical letters in Persian, the entire letter-books of Jai Singh and Aurangzib, daily bulletins of Aurangzib's Court, and the full text of Bhimsen as well as another contemporary Hindu historian in Persian, viz. Ishwardas Nagar—all of which were unknown to Grant Duff."

Two such volumes, the one composed of references to Śivāji by his Western contemporaries, the other by his Indian contemporaries, would provide scholars with the necessary data for studying particular events in the life of Śivāji, and of that period of Maratha history, without having to depend, as they now have to do, on the judgment of individual historians, and being ignorant of the sources these historians may have used in describing those special events.



The Earliest Annals of Mysore

By LEWIS RICE, C.I.E.

THE earliest annals of Mysore are of much interest, and round up a critical period of Indian history long wanting in authentic records. The inscriptions discovered at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa in Mysore have brought to light detailed accounts of events that transpired in connexion with Chandragupta, contemporary with Alexander the Great, and founder of the Maurya dynasty. Moreover, we have in conjunction with him full notices of Bhadrabāhu, the greatest leader of the Jains at the time. Opinions have been credulous as to their value, but their validity is coming to be recognized.

The discovery of Edicts of Aśoka in the north of Mysore put it beyond doubt that the Maurya Empire extended so far, and the more recent discovery of the one at Maski, near Raichur, lends support to the statement that Kuntala, a province comprising the south-western Dekkan and the north of Mysore, was included in the Maurya dominions, having passed to them from the Nandas who held it before.

Strange to say, our first knowledge of the Jains was due to Mysore, as though they were prominent for ages in many parts of India, the discovery of the sect was first made by Colonel Colin Mackenzie at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when he was engaged in the survey of the country.

Another link with Chandragupta was the discovery lately in Mysore of a copy of the *Artha-śāstra*, or political code, of Chāṇakya or Kauṭilya, Chandragupta's great minister (the Indian Machiavelli), to whom he owed his throne. This has been ably translated by Dr. Shāma Śāstri.

The basis of our information is the Bhadrabāhu rock inscription in Sanskrit at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa, and from the characters, which are Haḷa Kannaḍa, not later than the fifth century. It begins with verses in praise of Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, whose doctrine (it says) is even to-day in favour in Viśālā (? Vaiśālī). Then follows a line of holy men who

succeeded him, among whom was Bhadrabāhu—(this was one of the Śrutakevalins, or hearers of the first masters). He predicted, at Ujjayinī, the approach of a twelve years' famine, to escape which all the Jain community migrated under his direction from the North to the South. By degrees they had arrived at a populous and prosperous country, when¹ the Āchārya, whose name was Prabhāchandra (this must have been his original name, perhaps), on this mountain Kaṭavapra (the Kaḷbappu, now called Chandragiri at Śravaṇa Belgōla), perceiving that but little time remained for him to live, in order that he might perform the penance before death, bidding farewell to them, sent away the entire *saṅgha*, and with one single disciple, worshipping on the cold rocks covered with grass, gained emancipation from the body (by the Jain rite of *sallekhana* or starvation).

The following quotations may be adduced in support of the above statements :—Dr. Leumann says : “ The migration to the south is the initial fact of the Digambara tradition.” After a critical examination of Jain *paññāvalis* or succession lists of *gurus*, Dr. Hoernle says :—“ Before Bhadrabāhu the Jain community was undivided ; with him the Digambaras separated from the Śvetāmbaras. . . . The question is who this Bhadrabāhu was. The Śvetāmbara *paññāvalis* know only one Bhadrabāhu, who, from the dates assigned to him by the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras alike, must be identical with the Bhadrabāhu I of the Digambaras. Considering the varying and contradictory character of the Digambara traditions, the probability is that the inception of the great separation took place under Bhadrabāhu I, who died 162 A.V. according to the Digambaras, or 170 A.V. according to the Śvetāmbaras.” Dr. Jacobi says : “ The date of Bhadrabāhu's death is placed identically by all Jaina authors, from Hemachandra down to the most modern scholiast, in the year 170 A.V.” This is 297 B.C.

¹ The *atah* here, not *atha*, implies a continuation of the preceding narrative, and not the introduction of a fresh subject.

Chandragupta was so impressed by the calamities predicted by Bhadrabāhu, that he resolved to abdicate and as an ascetic accompany him to the south. The king was not above 50 years of age, and his disappearance from public life, which was in the same year, 297 B.C., as that of Bhadrabāhu's death, is thus sufficiently accounted for, as complete severance from all earthly ties was of the essence of the vow he had taken. He remained at Śravaṇa Belgōla in inseparable attendance on Bhadrabāhu, and was the sole witness of his death. He survived him for twelve years, and then gained emancipation from the body by the same rite of *sallekhana* or starvation.

Other early notices inform us that the pilgrims (said to number 12,000) were sent on under another leader to the Punnāṭa country situated in the south. They must, therefore, have made their way by the pass west of the Nilgiris, through the Wynaad and the Ouchterlony valley, and then spread out into the Coimbatore and other countries beyond. Punnāṭa, which is mentioned by Ptolemy in the second century as Pounnāṭa, and its product, beryl, is satisfactorily identified with Punnād, in the south-west of Mysore, and its capital Kitthipura is the modern Kittūr, on the Kabbani in the Heggadadevankote tāluq. The region is now mostly covered with heavy forest, the home of elephants and many kinds of wild beasts.

The march of so large a body as the Jain pilgrims uninterrupted to Śravaṇa Belgōla, seems to make it clear that it was within the Maurya limits, as otherwise they would have excited opposition and hostility if it had been foreign territory. There are also traces of Buddhist remains at Avani, south-east of Kolar. This formed another Maurya outpost. These indications of the limits of the Maurya dominions are confirmed by the fact that Buddhist missions were sent, among other places, to Mahisha-maṇḍala, or Mysore itself, which was therefore beyond.¹

¹ The Erumai-nād (or Buffalo country) of the earliest Tamil literature.

Punnāṭa must have been a State friendly to the Jains. Its importance was greater than has hitherto been realized. This has been brought to light by the Māmballi plates discovered at Yelandur. They are written in good Sanskrit, in Haḷa Kannaḍa characters of about 500 or so. They give to the country the name of Puni-rāshṭra. In the reign of its king Rāshṭravarma, a full moon to the Tāmrakaśyapa family, its fame was sung by the learned in several countries. Its villages were full of wealthy people, who possessed she-buffaloes, cows, horses, woollen blankets, gems, gold, silver, pearls, and coral; it was ornamented with annual crops of rice, wheat, barley, etc.; its inhabitants were constantly engaged in marriages and other festivities: it was adorned by the rivers Kāveri and Kapini, whose banks on both sides were thickly covered with fruit and flower gardens. Finally, it was resplendent (it says) like the Videha country. (This is the ancient Mithilā, in Tirhoot, in North Bihar, which seems a distant comparison, but enhances its reputation.)¹ The king, who never swerved from the path of justice, was well versed in the training of horses and other such arts. Of his three sons, who resembled the Pāṇḍavas in valour, the eldest, Prithivīpati, was the equal of Yudhisṭhira, proficient in many sciences. His right hand was always engaged in bestowing gifts on the poor, the helpless, friends, relatives, guests, servants, and so forth—while his other hand was engaged in dalliance with beautiful women. Allowing for exaggeration, the descriptions point to no mean State, but one as virile as its name.

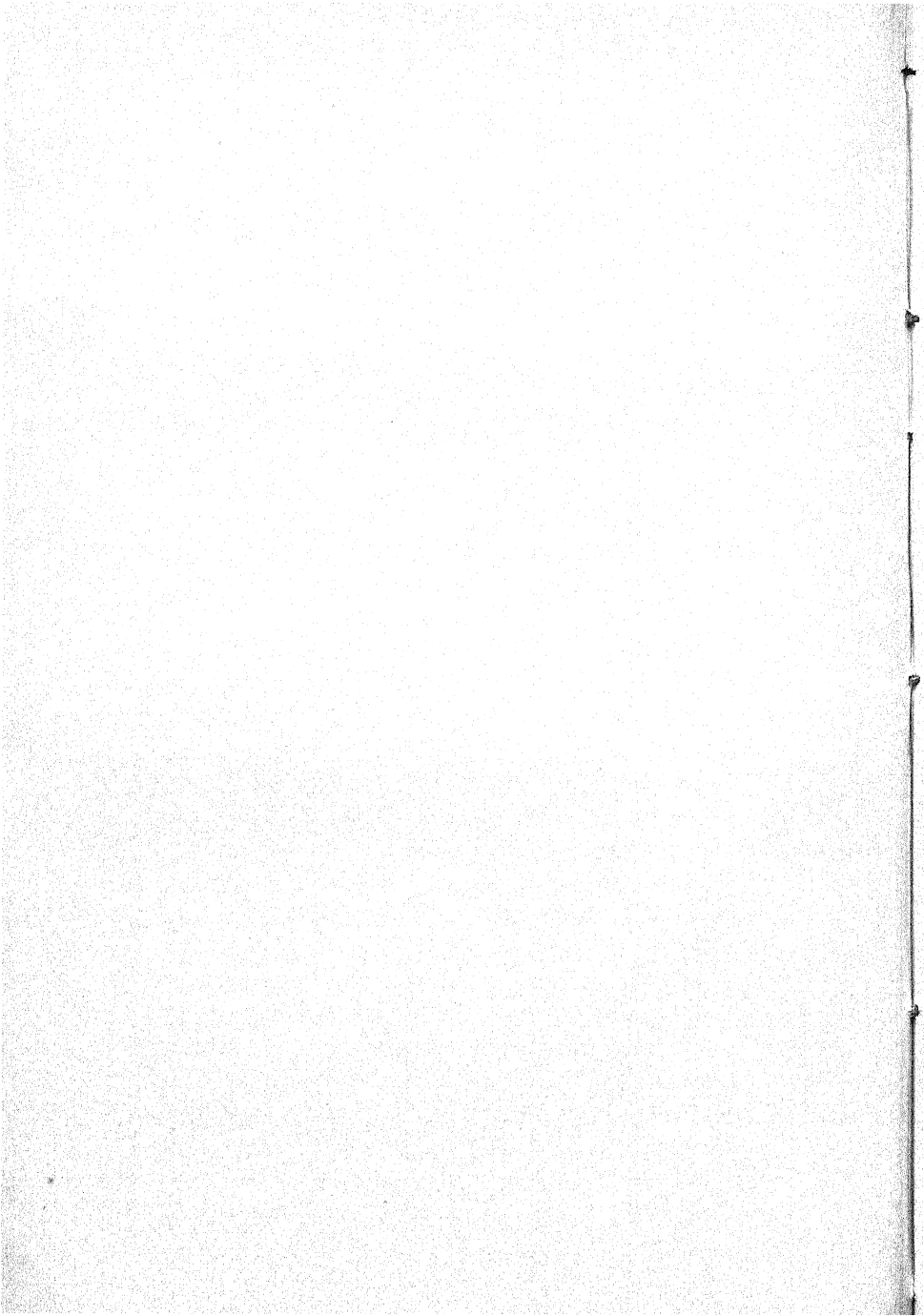
The Ganga king Avinīta (fifth century) married the daughter of the Punnāḍ Rāja, and had by her the son Durvinīta. This prince, his father, on the advice of his *guru*, set aside from the succession in favour of a son probably by another

¹ Another link with this place is the case of Pūjyapada, who being troubled with doubts as to the *Tattvārtha*, made his way, it is said, with difficulty to Eastern Videha, where he witnessed a manifestation of the Tirthankaras that removed all his doubts.

mother. But the goddess of Victory came to him of her own accord. He may have had the Jain grammarian Pūjyapāda as his preceptor. But he became no less distinguished for his scholarship than he was for his military successes. And we learn the interesting fact that Bhāravi was a poet at his court.

To revert to the time of Samudra Gupta. His expedition to the south extended as far as to Kānchi, the king of which was then Vishṇugopa. The Gangas had a king of the same name, the fourth, and a noteworthy circumstance is that the special epithets designating the Guptas at that period were also in use by the Gangas. The most remarkable and distinctive of them is—"his fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans"—exclusively applied to Samudra Gupta. But among the Gangas it is uniformly attached to Harivarman, the third king, who removed the capital from Kuvalāla or Kolāla (Kolar) to Talkād on the Kāveri. An epithet like that could only be suitable to the hero of a war on an extensive scale. We must therefore suppose that it was first used for Samudra Gupta and copied by Harivarman, who could hardly compete in such a testimony with that mighty conqueror. But this is not the only case (see my article in the *JRAS.*, April, 1919), and it is not easy to adjust the claims, though it suffices to show the unexplained intimacy of the Gangas of Gangavāḍi (or Mysore) in the south with the Guptas of Magadha in the north.

The foregoing notices may be taken to prove that the earliest annals of Mysore are deserving of more consideration than has generally been paid to them. In regard to Chandragupta and Bhadrabāhu, I may add that Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the Oxford historian of India, was specially introduced to me at a public dinner, and he said :—"I have come to tell you that I have changed my mind. I agree with you." This was testimony of value, and an incentive to closer research. He has recorded his latest views in the recent edition of his work.



The Story of the Dasaratha Jataka and of the Ramayana

By N. B. UTGIKAR, M.A.

THE existence of parallelisms between a number of the stories contained in the Jātaka portion of the Buddhist literature and those embodied in the epic literature is an admittedly interesting fact, and is by now a commonplace of Post-Vedic studies. The canker of chronological uncertainty, however, that generally runs through the history of Indian literature and antiquities here also unfortunately prevails, and detracts much from the value of what would otherwise have been a highly decisive means for judging of the priority of the one to the other. Indeed, because of this particular disqualification, viz. chronological dubiousness, the issue often tends to appropriate wrong proportions, and generally a satisfactory solution of the diverse aspects of the problem thus presented in a double form becomes increasingly difficult.

The case of (a part of) the Rāma story that has been preserved in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa and in the Dasaratha-jātaka is an illustration in point. The story in these two versions agrees, although (and this is a very important modification) in very broad outlines only, and the question is, can we, on the strength of such partial agreement, reasonably conclude that one form of the story (and consequently also the literature in which it is preserved) is earlier than the other ?

This particular question about the Rāma story has been suggested by a valuable publication of the Calcutta University (*The Bengali Rāmāyaṇas*, by Dineshchandra Sen, 1920) and a recent review of this work by Sir G. A. Grierson (*JRAS.* 1922, p. 135 ff.). What follows here, however, solely concerns the thesis accepted by both these writers, that the

Dasaratha-jātaka preserves the *oldest* form of the Rāma story (Sen, op. cit., p. 7 f.; Grierson, op. cit., p. 135). It is this thesis, and this only, which it is proposed to re-examine here, to the exclusion (so far as possible) of other questions. That there is still sufficient reason to doubt the validity of any such thesis can be seen both by a study of the two texts in question, and by a reference to what most of the other scholars who have devoted special attention to this particular piece of resemblance, have to say on this point.

Briefly put, the two fundamental questions are : Does the Dasaratha-jātaka present an older form of the Rāma story, and is the Jātaka really older than the Rāmāyana ?

In now deciding about these points we must not any longer overlook the mixed nature of the Jātaka text. Every Jātaka, it need hardly be said, consists of two parts : the verses or the Gāthās, and the prose commentary. The value, however, of these two constituent parts of the Jātaka is not the same, though in speaking generally of the Jātakas as a part of the Buddhist canonical literature this point is quite apt to be lost sight of. Investigations into the Jātaka literature have established beyond doubt that in the case of a number of Jātakas the prose part of the Jātaka stands either in conflict with the verses, the Gāthās, or has nothing whatsoever to do with the metrical Gāthās. (For references, compare Winternitz, as quoted below.) Equally important is also the fact that the claim of the Jātakas to canonicity is to be understood as belonging only to their metrical portion, i.e. to the Gāthās, and that it does not extend to the prose commentary. To quote Winternitz : whatever prose might be presumed to have once belonged to the verses, i.e. to the Gāthās, only these (i.e. the Gāthās) were accepted in the canon : "they alone form a part of the Khuddaka-nikāya." Thus the Jātaka book, in so far as it belongs to the canon, consists only of verses, which partly are narrative poems, but are in some other cases quite unintelligible without a prose narration. In the latter case it was left to the reciters

to add to the prose according to their pleasure, until, at some unknown period—in any case *after* the fixing of the canon—some one set himself to fix this prose also in the form of a commentary, and in some respects to complete it. This enormous Jātaka commentary—the Jātakatṭhakathā—was translated into Singhalese we know not when, the Gāthās, however, remaining unchanged in Pāli. From the Singhalese this work was retranslated into Pāli, possibly in the fifth century A.D., under the title “Jātakatṭha-vaṇṇanā” . . . From this history of the Jātakatṭha-vaṇṇanā, it follows that the prose of the Jātakas cannot be regarded as being as old and original as the Gāthās (*Geschichte*, ii, p. 92 ff.). Equally conclusive is the opinion of Wilhelm Geiger (in his *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* in Bühler’s *Grundriss*, 1916, p. 14), who says: “Only the verses (of the Jātakas) are to be regarded as canonical; the prose narrative was more or less left to the judgment of the Reciter.” On p. 21 he adds: “The transmission, however, of the two constituent parts (of the Jātaka, viz. the prose commentary and the Gāthā verses) was different. That of the verses was a fixed and unchangeable one; the prose narrative was, however, more or less left to the pleasure of Rhapsodes. This (circumstance) may explain the contradictions which exist between the verses and the prose, and which are also to be found in the Atṭhakathā.”

This should leave no doubt that in utilizing the evidence or contents of any of the Jātakas great caution is to be used. The verses are ancient enough, but the commentary is comparatively modern, and so their value is not equal. If, in addition to this general fact, it is found that the narrative as reflected by the verses is in conflict with that represented by the prose, or that the story as contained in the latter is not such as can be borne out by the contents of the Gāthās, the value of the prose part of the Jātaka is, indeed, very much reduced.

Applying these tests to the Jātaka under consideration, we find that all ground for holding that the Jātaka is older than

the Rāmāyaṇa, is cut off, since most of the details of the Rāma story occur only in the prose part. Weber, who first started the theory (in his monograph on the Rāmāyaṇa) that the Jātaka story is older than the Rāmāyaṇa story, and whom Sen and Grierson quote with approval, made no such distinction between the prose part of the Jātaka and the Dasaratha-jātaka Gāthā portion. In saying, therefore, that the DJ presents an earlier version of the Rāma story this claim of "earliness" loses most of its force, in so far as it is based on the prose portion of the Jātaka, in the light of this admitted historical fact about the composition of the commentary as we have it to-day. Whatever value may be claimed as otherwise belonging to the prose narration is still further discounted by the fact that, as a matter of reality, the prose narration here has nothing whatever to do with the Gāthās of the Jātaka, a fact first pointed out by Lüders (*NGWG.* 1897, p. 40 f.), and one which we can easily satisfy ourselves about. That it is so, i.e. the Gāthās do not presuppose all the items of the prose story, can also be seen by examining the contents of the Gāthās of this Jātaka. Of the thirteen Gāthās only the first two and the last two have any narrative application; the intervening nine verses are purely didactic, and intended to emphasize the maxim that grief for the dead availeth not. These may as well have been here as in any other place with a suitable context. The prose narration, on the other hand, gives parts of the story of Rāma's life, though with divergent and almost perverted details. Jacobi (*Das Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 84 ff.), Keith (*JRAS.*, 1915, p. 323), and Lüders (*loc. cit.*) are all agreed that the Jātaka prose version of the Rāma story presents a later and more confused form of the legend than the Rāmāyaṇa; and the sooner we divest ourselves of the opinion, essentially based on the prose narration of the Jātaka, that the Jātaka form of the story is older than the Rāmāyaṇa version, the better it would be, in the interest of a correct valuation of the relations between the two literatures.

A further question arises: Even granting that the prose

part of the Jātaka story may not be older than the corresponding Rāmāyaṇa story, the contents of the Gāthās themselves may be more ancient than the Sanskrit form. This possibility, however, seems to be excluded by the nature of the case. As stated above, the Gāthās can be seen to fall into two groups, the narrative or episodic and the didactic. With regard to the former group, the first Gāthā makes it evident that the narrator has used some older, and very probably a Brahmanic form of the Rāma story. It says that Rāma asked Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā to go down to the water, (since) thus doth say Bharata : King Dasaratha is dead.

Etha Lakkhaṇa Sītā ca ubho otarathôdakan |

Evāyam Bharato āha : Rājā Dasaratho mato ||

That the main injunction here implied is probably derived from a Brahmanic source cannot be denied, the injunction, namely, that Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā are to go down to the water. It is an ancient Brahmanic custom, which has persisted even to the present day, that absent relatives of a dead person are to take a bath as soon as they come to hear the news of the death of their relation. It is in agreement with this immemorial custom that, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma says :—

Jalakriyārthaṃ tātasya gamiṣyāmi mahātmanaḥ

Sītā purastād vrajatu tvam enām abhito vraja.

Then it is said that their faithful charioteer, Sumantra, showed them the way down to the river (*avatārayad ālambya nadīm Mandākinīm śubhām*, ii, 103, 20 ff. ; Gorresio, ii, 111, 26 ff.).

That the *udakakriyā* was thus an ancient trait, is proved by the Gāthā itself. But that the old purpose of which it stood as an emblem, viz. following an ancient custom, was sought to be obliterated by the Buddhist expositors, is apparent from the explanation which is offered in the prose commentary. It is to the effect that, if the news of the father's death should be broken all of a sudden to L. and S., they would not be able to control their grief; and so Rāma pretended to be angry because

they had come late that evening from the forest, and on this pretext inflicted on them the punishment of standing in the water for that offence (*Idaṃ vo daṇḍakammaṃ hotu*). The first and the next Gāthā also have, however, nothing to bear out this statement. On the other hand, the whole of the first Gāthā seems reminiscent of the corresponding passage in the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus, in addition to the similarity of the first line, referred to above, the second line is very similar in sense to “Bharato duḥkham ācaṣṭe svargatim pṛthivīpateḥ . . .” (ii, 103, 15 ; G. ii, 111, 20). In the light of such evidence, howsoever small, we ought once more to pause and judge whether the claim of originality does not belong to the Sanskrit version, which embodies an ancient religious custom, and, as such, was foreign or even opposed to Buddhistic sentiment. It is reasonable to hold that, had the originality really belonged, as between the two versions, to the Buddhistic side, the Gāthā would not have contained such a foreign idea as the Jalakriyā, of which the Buddhist commentators have failed to give any satisfactory explanation, and instead only give so unconvincing and almost childish an explanation as *daṇḍakammaṃ*.

The question naturally arises as to how to explain such glaring differences between the Rāma story in the Rāmāyaṇa and that in the Jātaka prose. The history of the Jātaka prose commentary, however, very probably supplies the correct answer. If the bulk of the commentary originally arose in the far distant island of Ceylon, it is permissible to hold that the general ignorance of the original story on the part of the commentator or commentators is responsible for such differences. To this will have also to be added, very likely, a desire to take over famous Brahmanic stories and adapt them to Buddhistic purposes and sentiments.

The second Gāthā seems to be a free invention, intended to introduce the topic of the didactic Gāthās. The third narrative Gāthā (12) seems to have no connexion with either of the remaining narrative Gāthās or the body of the didactic Gāthās. Its opening words *So 'ham*, as also its substance,

remain curiously unconnected. It speaks of giving (*dassan*), enjoying (*bhokkhan*), and supporting kinsmen (*bharissāmi ca ñātake*), of either of which there is not a trace in the remaining text ; and the commentary does not help us much. The fourth narrative Gāthā, which is the last of its kind, and the concluding one (13) of the Jātaka, is more significant. Lüders has pointed out (loc. cit., p. 45) that this Gāthā, besides occurring in the last sarga of the Yuddha-kāṇḍa, recurs in the Mahābhārata and in the Harivaṁśa. As the last work refers to this Gāthā as being one of those Gāthās composed in honour of Rāma (*Rāme nibaddhāḥ*) which men versed in things ancient (*purāṇavido janāḥ*) sing, Lüders is inclined to hold that Vālmīki very probably borrowed it from the Pāli work. It is not, however, clear how this conclusion can be justified. On the other hand, Jacobi's supposition (*Das Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 88) that the Pāli work borrowed this verse from its original position in the concluding sarga of the old genuine Rāmāyaṇa and similarly put it at the end of the Pāli Gāthās, remains unrefuted. The borrowing of the same Gāthā in the Harivaṁśa and its winding up *its* Rāma story with this and other ślokas which can be traced back to the Rāmāyaṇa, very probably justifies Jacobi's conjecture, and illustrates the general way of procedure adopted by compilers and reciters. In this connexion it is interesting to observe that, like the Harivaṁśa, the Pāli commentator introduces in his Paccuppanna-vatthu, *porāṇaka-paṇḍitā* (Fausböll, iv, 1243). Besides this, it can readily be seen that there is nothing peculiarly Buddhistic about this śloka. The extravagant number of years contained in it can hardly be claimed as being of this type ; such numbers are Vedic, for which compare the present writer's note on Virāṭaparvan, 17, 15 ff. (Bhandarkar Institute edition, p. 62 f., notes).

It therefore appears probable that the first and the last Gāthās of our Jātaka betray the author's acquaintance with the Sanskrit original, and that one of the two remaining Gāthās from the narrative portion is very likely a free

invention, serving to introduce the didactic Gāthās; while the other Gāthā remains curiously out of place.

Lastly, there remains the group of the nine didactic Gāthās. Lüders (loc. cit., p. 44 f.) and Boyd, Weber's translator (note, p. 124 of the reprint of the English translation in *IA*, vol. i f.), have pointed out the resemblance, verbal and in substance, of two of these to the Sanskrit ślokas in the Rāmāyaṇa (G. 5 = ii, 105, 17; G. 10 (partially) = ii, 108, 3).

Lüders is, however, inclined to hold with regard to the first of these two Gāthās that it is more original than Vālmiki's Sanskrit version for the reason that "in the Gāthā the idea is thoroughly in keeping with the circumstances; in the Sanskrit verse, on the other hand, it does not, strictly taken, quite fit in with the connexion". Anyone, however, comparing the two versions, would feel hardly convinced by Lüders' reasoning that "Rāma would console the remaining persons with the proof that all men must once die, but not with the idea that the one danger for men is death".

The two versions are, in Pāli :—

फलानमिव पक्कानं निच्चं पपतना भयं ।
एवं जातानां मच्चानां निच्चं मरणतो भयं ॥

And in Sanskrit :—

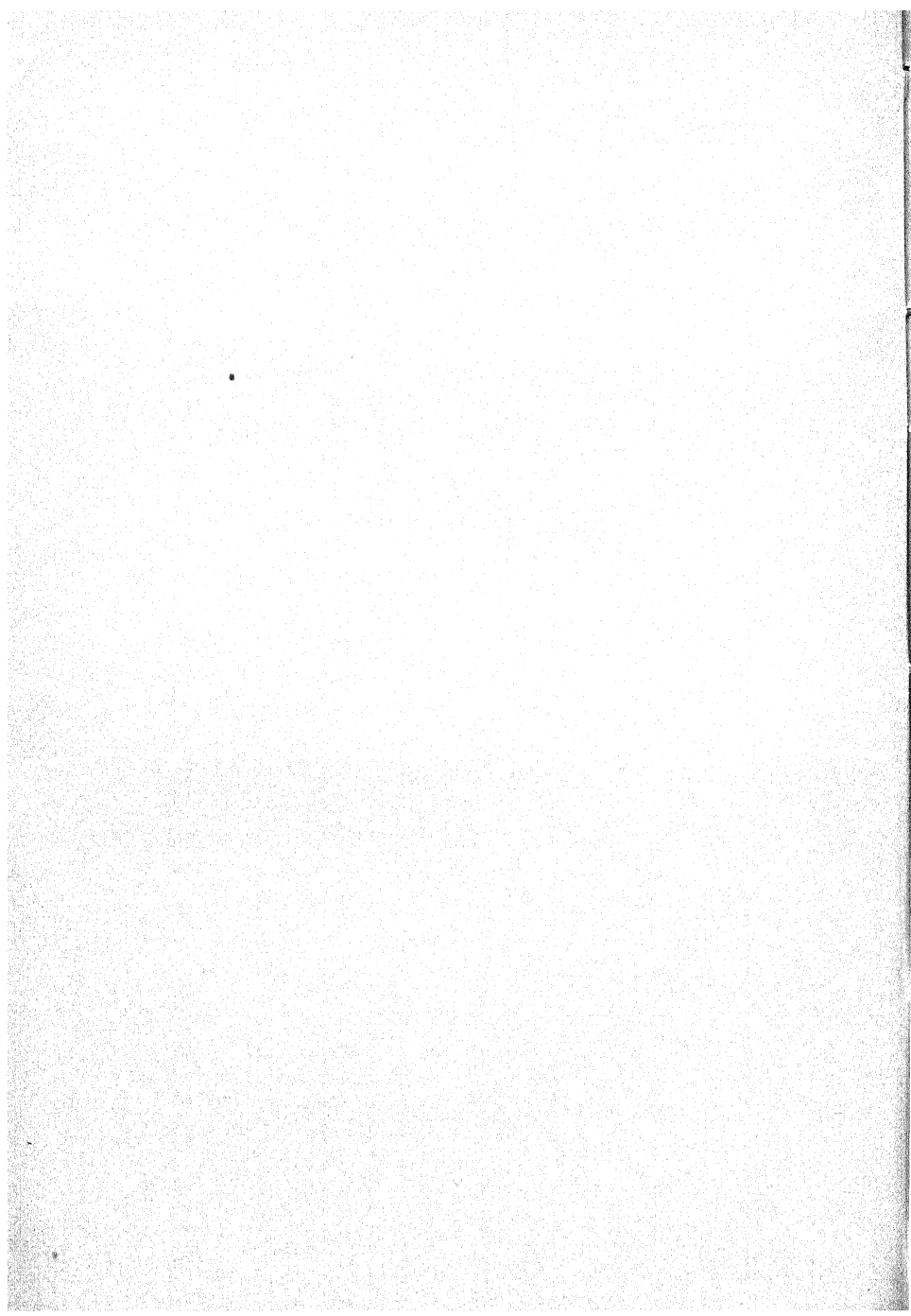
यथा फलानां पक्कानां नान्यत्र पतनाद्भयम् ।
एवं नरस्य जातस्य नान्यत्र मरणाद्भयम् ॥

(Gorresio reads एवं नराणां जातानां for एवं नरस्य जातस्य.)

Any contention, therefore, that the Pāli verses are more original and served as model to Vālmiki must be regarded as *not proven*. This conclusion is independent of whatever views one may hold with regard to the common stock of popular epigrammatic verses which both the sources might be supposed to have drawn upon, and utilized in their own way. On the other hand, the conclusion, based on the evidence of the first and the last Gāthās, is very probable that the Pāli writer shows an acquaintance with an old Brahmanic story.

If imitation can be urged against one side, it is equally open to argue that the other side might have depreciated through ignorance or with some purpose, a Sanskrit model. Other arguments which have been urged to prove that the Pāli version is older (as is, for instance, done by Sen, p. 22 ff.) are unconvincing, inasmuch as they take for granted what should be proved; and the few observations here offered would achieve their object if in such matters we leave behind old but untenable views, and approach each question without a prepossession for either of the literatures concerned.

In speaking of the Dasaratha-jātaka one should never lose sight of the fact that it is one of the Jātakas the scenes of which were sculptured on the railings of the Stūpa of Bharahut, which Cunningham, in his work on that Stūpa, assigns to "between 250 and 200 B.C." (p. 14). Though the label containing the name of the Jātaka is destroyed, still the story can be easily identified. It is interesting to note, however, that the dog shown in the scene (pl. xxvii) is not referred to either in the Buddhist or the Sanskrit story. The sculpture probably shows Bharata returning to Ayodhyā, holding in his right hand the shoes of Rāma (*pāduke*) with the royal umbrella opened over them, while Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa come out of their cave where the watch-dog sits to bid him good-bye.



The South Indian Tradition of the Apostle Thomas

BY P. J. THOMA, M.A., B.LITT.

I.

ALTHOUGH a great deal has been written concerning St. Thomas's connexion with India, it has so far resulted only in barren controversies and inchoate theories. The finding of the "Gondophares" coins in the Cabul region raised great hopes of a final settlement of the problem; but apart from the (itself doubtful) identification of a single name in the *Acta Thomae*, it has shed little light on the mysteries of Christian origins in India. Nay, it has had positively injurious results, inasmuch as it diverted the attention of scholars into fields far remote from the familiar haunts of the Thomistic tradition. South India is the quarter from which we should expect fresh evidence: the north has no known claims to any connexion with the Apostle. In the south live the Christians of St. Thomas¹—the so-called "Syrians" who for more than a thousand years have upheld their descent from the Apostle's disciples. There also we have what has been believed from immemorial antiquity to be the tomb of St. Thomas, with various lithic remains of pre-Portuguese Christianity around Madras. South India has a remarkably ancient tradition of St. Thomas; and it is a *living* tradition, not a dead legend. It can be traced back at least to the sixth century A.D., and it still lives in popular memories, not only of Christians, but of others not recognizing the claims of Christianity. The existence of this tradition is known and recognized; but no organized

¹ There are now over 1,000,000 Christians who belong to this ancient body. About one-half of them own allegiance to the Pope, but retain their ancient liturgy and practices. Of the other half the bulk are Jacobites. The Nestorians are very few in number.

attempt has yet been made to explore it. The literature in which that tradition is embodied has not been studied, nor have its monumental remains been scrutinized by experts. Before this is done it would be unfair to pronounce a judgment on the question.

Much thought has been given by scholars to the study of the Edessan (Syriac) tradition of St. Thomas; but that tradition cannot be the primary source for studying the history of the South Indian Church. This latter must be studied in Indian tradition and other sources and not in the distant echo that they may have received on the banks of the Euphrates. Although the Thomas-Christians of Malabar eventually came to possess a Syriac liturgy, their traditions and chronicles are found not in Syriac but in their own native tongue, Malayālam. Similarly, the East Coast tradition is to be sought in Tamil sources.

The Malabar accounts of St. Thomas's apostolate do not, however, exist in easily accessible sources, but in many scattered songs and ballads composed in an archaic language. The most authoritative of these is a poetic work of 450 lines entitled "Thōmā Parvam".¹ In a colophon to that work there is a statement that it was composed in 1601 by Maliekel Thōmā Rambān, forty-eighth in descent from the ancestor (Thōmā) who received baptism from the Apostle's own hands. It purports to be a summary of a longer early work by a nephew of that first convert, written within living memory of the Apostle himself. Such a summary is said to have become necessary in 1601 owing to the destruction of many ancient works at the Synod of Diamper.

The subject matter of "Thōmā Parvam" is a detailed itinerary of the Apostle in South India with vivid accounts of his doings at various centres. It does not contain the story of the dream-vision which forms the backbone of the

¹ This is published in Fr. Bernard's *Christians of St. Thomas* (Malayālam). Various MSS. of this and similar songs are in the writer's possession.

Acta Thomae version.¹ However, in this work also, the Apostle accompanies the merchant Ābān; but the king who sent the merchant is called vaguely, "a King of the Chōla country." Accompanied by that merchant, St. Thomas sailed from Arabia in the year A.D. 50, and landed at Māleankara (near Cranganore, the ancient capital of Malabar), which is still the sacred spot of "Syrian" Christians, and is situated in the very heart of the Christian country. Without tarrying there long, the Apostle crossed over to the Chola country to interview the king. After preaching there for some time he sailed from Mylapore for Malacca and China.² Returning to India in December, A.D. 51, he made Malabar his principal field of work. At Cranganore he converted the reigning Chēraman king and many Brahmin families and Jewish colonists. The king was baptized, and received the name Andrew; and his nephew, Ceppa (Peter), was ordained high-priest. From Cranganore he travelled successively to Kollam (= Quilon), Threkpāleswaram, Chāyal (on the Hills), Gōkkamangalam, Kōttakāvu Parur, and Pālayur. He converted many at these seven centres, and originated the seven churches of Malabar.³ He again went to the Chōla country at the instance of the king, his employer; and there followed many of the scenes depicted in the *Acta*. Subsequently he returned to Malabar, and made a tour of all the seven Christian centres. Finally, at Chāyal, he took leave of his loving disciples.

¹ But the story of the dream-vision is found in another song called "Margam Kali Pāṭṭu", used more by the Sudhists, who are supposed to be descended from Mesopotamian colonists. See P. U. Luke, *Ancient Songs of Syrian Christians* (Mal.).

² On the connexion of St. Thomas with China see a suggestive, if queer, work, *Asian Christology and Mahayana*, by E. A. Gordon, 1921.

³ The tradition is that the Apostle planted crosses in these seven centres. Sir R. C. Temple (*I.A.*, 1921, p. 158) regards this as damaging the whole Thomistic tradition, since the worship of the Cross is not regarded as having prevailed so early among Christians. This raises a highly controversial point, which cannot be settled before Eastern Christian symbolism and art have been explored. At its worst it may be a subsequent interpolation; but this, if true, cannot by itself demolish the whole tradition.

Returning again to the East Coast, he was stabbed to death near Mylapore by a set of embrāns or sacrificing Hindu priests. This was on 3rd July, A.D. 72; and it was decided to keep this day as the feast of the Apostle, which it is to this day in Malabar. Thus ends the account.

Around this nucleus there arose subsequently a whole collection of subsidiary legends, of miracles performed by the Apostle, of wonderful cures effected by him, discussions with Brahmins, flying with peacocks, and so forth. These are all embodied in a nebula of folk-lore; and many of them exist in the form of wedding songs.

Evidently there is nothing fantastic about the main account given above. It agrees very well with the known facts of South Indian history. The places mentioned are mostly historic centres, more or less known to Hindu tradition as well. Māleankara was a part of the great mart and metropolis Cranganore, then called "Thiruvanchi" and "Musiri". It was the greatest Indian trade-centre of the time, the favourite resort of Greek and Roman traders, who called it "Muziris".¹ Subsequently it came to be called "Makodai", which still figures in Malabar legends as the Christian city. Pālayur also is an ancient trading centre well known to Roman traders, and is located to the north of Cranganore. Ptolemy describes it as an inland town (117°51 degrees). Kottakāvu-Parur was rather like a suburb of Cranganore. Both these places figure also in the Brahmin work *Kēralolpatti*. Kollam, the modern Quilon, was a celebrated port and a former capital of the Vēnad dynasty (Travancore). Trekpālēsvaram and Neranom² were then great Hindu

¹ There was then going on a very brisk intercourse between the Malabar Coast and Western Asia. Alexandria was then the centre of Eastern trade, and every year more than 100 vessels used to sail to India with the help of the monsoons (discovered by Hippalus in A.D. 47 and hence called after him). Pliny (A.D. 50-60) calls Muziris "the nearest mart of India" (bk. vi, chap. xxvi).

² The church of Trekpālēsvaram is said to have been refounded later at the adjacent place of Neranom, which thereby took the place of the former.

centres. The latter is perhaps the "Nirmannu" (Niganda?) mentioned in the *Kēralolpatti*,¹ and may be identified with the "Nelcynda" of the Græco-Roman geographers. Chāyal is no more in inhabited country, having been subsequently deserted. Recently, however, it was explored, and parts of a huge granite cross was found there embedded in virgin forest.

Associated with these various places there are interesting local traditions, and besides there exist valuable monumental remains at many of them. The local remnants of Pālayur are particularly noteworthy. The Apostle is said to have performed a great miracle there at the temple tank, and many Brahmins received baptism from him. Those who remained obdurate solemnly cursed the town and swore never to return to it. Even now Brahmins would not drink water or chew betel-nut within the boundaries of Pālayur. The Brahmins of the neighbouring places still seem to keep vivid recollections of this secession from their ranks. The principal temple is said to have been transformed into a place of Christian worship. The Portuguese found there many of the vestiges of the old Hindu temple; and even to-day broken remnants of Hindu images are found in the churchyard. Similar local legends are told also of Kottakāvu-Parur, of Neranom, and other Christian centres; and there are still many signs of former Hindu worship in those localities.

There is nothing improbable about the account of the Apostle converting many Brahmin families.² It is admitted on all hands in Malabar that many Christian families have sprung from Brahmin ancestors. There are various sociological facts which make it highly probable. The tradition is that at least thirty-two Brahmin families accepted the new

¹ See *Kēralolpatti* (Mangalore B.M. Press), p. 27.

² That there were Aryan Brahmins already in Malabar is very likely from (i) the occurrence of Sanskrit place-names at the time, and (ii) from certain notes of the geographer Ptolemy (second century A.D.). See McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, pp. 170-1. This subject, however, has not been properly studied so far.

faith. Four of them were raised to the high-priestly status ; i.e., the high priests were to be selected from those families only. Subsequently, only one of those families had the privilege, namely, Pakalomattam (at Koravilangad), which solely supplied bishops and archdeacons to the Church till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Nor is the conversion of the King a mere concoction, as will be shown presently.

II.

The tradition of St. Thomas's apostolate in South India is not confined to Christians, but is shared also by their Hindu neighbours. Both in Malabar and on the East Coast there are well-known legends among high-caste Hindus concerning the doings of the Apostle ; and these are particularly valuable, as they support the authenticity of the Christian version.

The best-known collection of social and religious legends in Malabar is the Brahmin work called *Kēralolpatti*. Indeed, it was written to support the social and religious claims of the Nambūdiri Brahmins ; and the date of its composition cannot be exactly ascertained. Nevertheless, when it speaks of matters wherein the authors had no apparent interest—and *a fortiori* when their interest was adverse—we might give a greater value to its testimony than we would in the case of its principal contents. The *Kēralolpatti* account says that a certain foreigner, Thoman, who is spoken of as a "*Sarva-veda-vigrahan*" (= opponent of all vedas), came to Malabar and converted to his "Bouddha" faith¹ many prominent people of the land, including the reigning Chēramān king, Bāna Perumāḷ. He had many formal discussions with the assembled Brahmins, but neither side could convince the other. The king finally tried the well-known "kumbha" test (i.e. challenging the parties to guess the contents of a sealed pot), in which also both parties alike succeeded. It was then decided that there was not much

¹ All non-Hindu religions, including Christianity, have been called "Bouddha" in Malabar ; and this practice is continued even to-day.

difference between the two opposing religions. The king had four churches built for the new worship, viz. Chāyal, Neranom, Kokkamangalam, Kottakavu; and gave him and his followers many privileges. Finally he himself embraced the new faith, and, abdicating in favour of his nephew Kulasēkhara, sailed in a ship to Mocha.

It is difficult to estimate exactly the value of this legend. Certainly it is important as an admission on the part of Brahmins of the formidable nature of the rivalry between Hinduism and the new religion. In many respects it agrees with the Christian account; the principal difference is that it is written from the Hindu standpoint. But it cannot be an accurate account. It confuses the Apostle Thomas with the merchant Knāyi Thoma¹ ("Thomas of Cana"). But, as the latter person figures in Christian tradition only as a merchant and as a layman, and not as a priest or missionary, we may conclude that Knāyi Thoma had nothing to do with the incident narrated above. The mistake must have been due to mixing up two separate legends. Further, it must be pointed out also that the detailed account of the conflict with the Bouddhas is not found in all versions of the *Kēralol-patti*. Many of them speak of it only in general terms.²

The mention of King Bāna Perumāḷ in the account is important. The chronology of the Chera kings has not been fixed with any certainty, and we know little about the history of Malabar in those early days. Yet if Bāna may be identified with the king Bāna Varaman mentioned in early Tamil works, we might place him between the years A.D. 50 and 80 (according to the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's

¹ According to Malabar tradition he led a colony of Mesopotamian Christians in A.D. 345. Recent critics place him in the eighth century, but on no special ground, except that the other date is too early, according to their own chronological conceptions.

² The writer has two palm-leaf copies in which the complete account appears. The story above narrated is on leaves 9-12. The same story is found in a shortened form in the printed version (Mangalore), pp. 28-31.

calculation based on the Gajabāhu synchronism).¹ Further, Bāna came later to be called “Palli Bāna”, from his connexion with non-Hindu places of worship.² The marvellous spread of Christianity in Malabar and the uprooting of Hinduism from many of its flourishing centres cannot be easily explained, unless we attribute it to some active royal patronage. It would not have been possible for a handful of converts to turn Brahmin strongholds like Pālayur, Parur, and Neranom into Christian centres. However this may be, the converted king does not seem to have established a Christian dynasty of his own. His Hindu nephew must have succeeded him according to the normal Malabar custom, and only the vague memory of a Bouddha king remained. Subsequently another Chēra king embraced Islam, as is well known.

III.

The Malabar tradition has not much to say about the doings of St. Thomas on the Eastern Coast. But there are independent legends there about the Apostle, and to these we now turn. One of these, still remembered by the Brahmins around Mylapore, is specially noteworthy, inasmuch as it gives a clue to solve the Gondophares riddle.

This legend is as follows:—At the time when St. Thomas came to preach in Mylapore, the reigning king of that place was Kandappa³ of the fisherman caste. The Apostle came to be known to him by a miracle which the holy man worked in bringing ashore by the mere touch of his hand an immense piece of wood floating out in the sea. The king became pleased with him and built many churches for him, one of which was within the royal fort. St. Thomas was also made preceptor to Kandappa's son. The ministers and other Brahmins became jealous of the holy man, and plotted against

¹ *Tamils 1,800 Years Ago*, ch. i.

² “Palli” in Malabar means a Christian church or other place of non-Hindu worship.

³ Or Kandapparaser (= King Kandappa). “Araser” in Tamil means king.

him, but with little success. The king and his son became Christians. Yet the Brahmins were still powerful, and they persecuted the Apostle. They assaulted him repeatedly, but he always escaped unhurt. Finally he died a natural death, worn out by fatigue and privations. He was given a solemn burial in Mylapore. Many years after this event, a ship came from the Apostle's land, and, led by a Divine light, the sailors identified the place where Thomas's body lay entombed, and they carried away the relics to their country. A chapel was built on the spot.¹

It is difficult to ascertain the value of this remarkable legend. Its antiquity cannot be questioned, as portions of it are reported by mediaeval European travellers. John de Marignoli, in particular, gives the story of the huge log, although he has added to it many more details.² The Portuguese found ruins of Christian chapels in and around Mylapore. Some of them existed at least in the sixth century A.D. The Kandappa legend also is ancient and widespread. That king is inextricably associated with St. Thomas in the East Coast tradition, although not well known in Malabar. There is still preserved in the Mylapore Church a stone slab with the image of the Apostle on one side, and what is popularly believed to be that of Kandappa on the other. Some of the works of art found there are said to show evident signs of West-Asian influence.

The claim of Mylapore to possess St. Thomas's tomb stands on more trustworthy evidence than is usually granted. Although recent writers have tried to discredit this belief, ancient tradition both in India and Western Asia unmistakably points to Mylapore as the Apostle's shrine. It can be traced not merely to Marco Polo's days (twelfth century) but to a much earlier date. A Persian monk who lived in the

¹ A version of this legend was published in a Tamil journal, *Sumitren*, in 1900. It appeared in French in *Annales de la Société des Missions Étrangères* of Paris.

² See *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. iii, p. 250.

sixth century A.D., Zādoē, contemporary of Mar Yonān, is described as “prêtre et solitaire, chef du monastère de Saint-Thomas dans le pays de l’Inde, dont le siege est fixé sous le pays des qatrayē à Ceylan l’île noire”.¹ Again, Gregory of Tours in the same century records the accounts he heard from a pilgrim, Theodorus, who “had been to that part of India where lay the body of Apostle Thomas, where also he saw a monastery and church of striking dimensions”. Evidently both these passages refer to Mylapore. To these may be added the testimony of the two Muhammadan travellers who call Mylapore “Betuma”, which apparently means “the House of Thoma”,² and the entry in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle of King Alfred having sent messengers to India with offerings to the shrine of St. Thomas. From the twelfth century every western traveller of any consequence mentions Mylapore and its shrine. In this connexion we might also remember that the Malabar Christians have all along been in the habit of going on pilgrimages to Mylapore, even after Christianity died out there. Mylapore has besides many lithic remains to show—statues, crosses, and other materials.³ The famous cross with Pahlavi inscriptions might very well have been set up before the tenth century.

In spite of the above noteworthy facts Mr. W. R. Philips would not rest content without finding some site in Kirman to locate the tomb of Thomas. He could not otherwise explain the name “Kalamina”; but the Malabar Christian tradition interprets Calamina as Little Mount,⁴ the name of one of the Thomistic mounts near Madras.

The East Coast legend of Kandappa, supported by the

¹ See Labrourt, *Le Christianisme dans l’Empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide* (224-632), p. 306.

² See Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Mahammdan Travellers in the Ninth Century*, 1733, pp. 79-81.

³ See Fr. H. Hosten’s notes on San Thomé in *Report of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1922.

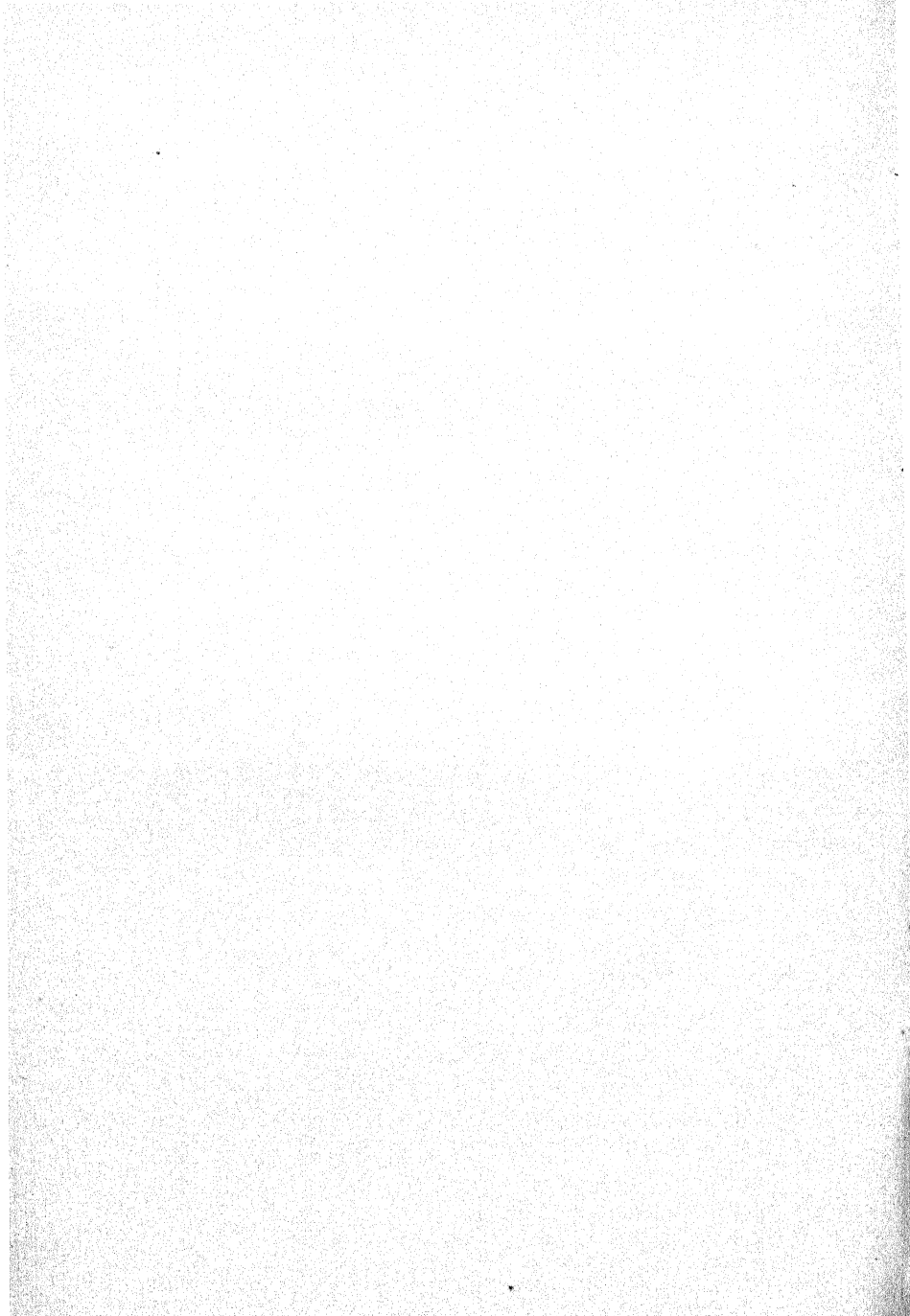
⁴ “Calamina” is supposed to be a form of the Syriac word “Galmona” (hillock). It has been also interpreted as a corrupt form of “Coromandel”.

time-honoured Malabar tradition, ought at least to shake our belief in the recently established connexion between St. Thomas and the Indo-Parthian king. This latter theory stands merely on the probable identification of the Gûdnaphar of the *Acta*¹ with the Gadaphara or Gudapharasa known from certain coins found in the Cabul region. One is apt to doubt the value of such an identification when one remembers that the *Acta* is at most a historical romance woven round a story which must have originally come from India. Such a romance containing un-Indian names and customs, and showing hardly any acquaintance with India, cannot legitimately be regarded as an historical document.

The traditions above noted have to be scrutinized by scholars before a historical verdict can be passed on them. Tradition by itself cannot make history; but when, as in the present case, a tradition is sufficiently ancient, and well attested by monumental remains and confirmed by independent testimony from diverse quarters, the historian has a duty to take it seriously. The whole South Indian tradition concerning St. Thomas cannot be regarded as history; yet there must necessarily be some substratum of truth in it. Milne Rae rashly discredited the whole tradition and even claimed that it was not Thomas but the Thomas-legend that travelled into India. This theory is even more fantastic than all the pious fables that came to be clustered round the original facts of St. Thomas's apostolate. Sir Henry Yule, who has studied the South Indian tradition at close quarters, thought that in its simple form it could hardly be questioned. A more extensive study of that tradition would perhaps lead us to the conclusion arrived at by an impartial Englishman a hundred years ago,² that "we have as good authority that Apostle Thomas died in India as that Apostle Peter died at Rome".

¹ According to the Syriac version, which is the original one.

² Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, 1814, p. 135. Bishop Heber also thought the same. See *Indian Journal*, ii, p. 178: "It may be . . . as readily believed that St. Thomas was slain at Mellapur as that St. Paul was beheaded in Rome or that Leonidas fell at Thermopylae."



ISLAMIC SECTION

The Table-talk of Jalalu'ddin Rumi

By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON

THE great poet, whose *Mathnawí* and *Diwání Shamsi Tabríz* are well known to students of Persian mysticism, is said to be the author of a prose work entitled *Fíhi má fíhi*. Ridá Qulí Khán mentions it in the preface to the Tabríz edition of the *Diwán*, remarking that it is addressed for the most part to Mu'ínu'ddín, the Parwána (Lord Chamberlain) of Rúm,¹ that it is equivalent to 3,000 verses in extent, and that manuscripts are rare.² I have not met with any further account of it. The only copies of which the existence has yet been announced are the two at Constantinople referred to by M. Louis Massignon in his Bibliography of Halláj,³ which was published last year. Since then, however, an Indian scholar, Mr. 'Abdu 'l-Majíd, of Daryábád, Bara Banki, has brought to my notice three more copies, one in the Hyderabad State Library, one in the Rampur State Library, and one in Nawáb Sálár Jung's Library at Hyderabad, Deccan. Mr. 'Abdu 'l-Majíd, who proposes to edit the Persian text, is having these MSS. transcribed for his own use, and a few weeks ago he was so kind as to lend me for a short period his copy of the manuscript belonging to the Hyderabad State Library. I am glad to take the opportunity of thanking him for this and other important services which he has rendered

¹ See Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, vol. i, p. 80, note.

² According to Mehemmed Fu'ád, *Türk edebiyâtında ilk müteşavvıflar*, p. 258, note 2, there are many copies at Constantinople, both in public libraries and in private hands.

³ *Passion d'al-Hallaj*, vol. ii, p. 47*, No. 1111. Here the title of the work is given as *Fíhi má fíhi min al-ma'árif wa 'l-haqá'iq*.

me in connexion with my work on the *Mathnawí*. So far as I can judge at present, the *Fíhi má fíhi* throws a good deal of light on the meaning of that immense and difficult poem; but the question is one that it would be premature to discuss now. This paper can only give some first impressions of the book and a general view of its contents. That the contents are of a mysterious nature is suggested by the title, which means literally "Therein is what therein is", and which is no doubt derived, as Massignon has already observed,¹ from a passage in the *Kitáb al-Ṭawásín* of Halláj,² where the words *fíhi má fíhi* are applied to the saint united with God, though, if they be understood in a more obvious sense, they are equally suitable to a volume so miscellaneous and unsystematic as this. The *Fíhi má fíhi* is, in fact, a collection of Jalálu'ddín's *Kalám*, that is, of his sayings and discourses. Concerning the manner of their transmission two statements are made. We are told in the preface that his words were written down, as they fell from his lips in conversation (*dar athná'i majlisi ú*), by his son Sultán Bahá'u'ddín Walad, while, on the other hand, the work is described in the colophon as a compilation of sayings related on the authority of the Parwána of Rúm. Certainly the Parwána is the most prominent figure in the book, next to Jalálu'ddín himself, and, as he appears to have surpassed Boswell in veneration, he may well have wished to leave behind him some record of his intimacy with the Master. At any rate, there is nothing in the Hyderabad MS. to support the view of Mehemmed Fu'ád³ that the *Fíhi má fíhi* was written by Jalálu'ddín and dedicated to the Parwána. It is evidently the work of a compiler; and if the preface (beginning with a biographical notice) is genuine, it must have been put together some time after Jalálu'ddín's death, which took place in A.D. 1273. The Parwána was executed by order of Abaqá five years later.

¹ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 862, note 5.

² p. 38, A. 35, 4.

³ Op. cit., p. 258.

Opinions may differ as to the authenticity of the conversations reported in this book. I see no reason to doubt that for the most part they are reported accurately, though perhaps not always literally or completely. Readers of the *Mathnawí* will find in them much that is characteristic. The general subject-matter is the same, and it is treated in just the same way. We have the same fullness and rapidity of thought—the process reminds one of a fire leaping forward and kindling itself by the impetus of its flames; the same tendency to substitute poetic imagination for logical argument, and the same amazing fertility of illustration. Anecdotes and apologues are frequently introduced, which, as a rule, are not identical with those found in the *Mathnawí*, though there is considerable parallelism as regards the particular topics of discussion. In a sense, therefore, the *Fíhi má fíhi* is disappointing. While it supplements, and in some degree elucidates, the *Mathnawí*, my impression is that it does not enable us to decide certain problems raised by the poem, which require for their solution a more precise and definite account of the author's theological beliefs than we could expect from a volume of his table-talk.

The discourses, which are often replies to questions put by the Parwána or others, do not follow any strict path, but range freely and incalculably in whatever direction the speaker's thought leads him on. A bare abstract of the contents would be of little use, and even if it went into details it would only serve as a key. The essential spirit and character of the book can best be shown by quoting a few passages, but those which I have translated are necessarily short, and allow no room to exhibit Jalálu'ddín's peculiar way of developing his ideas. This, however, may be studied to greater advantage in the *Mathnawí*. We are apt to separate speech from writing and to regard conversation and literary composition as altogether different things. In the case of Jalálu'ddín, they are distinguished only as prose speech from poetic speech. Both the *Mathnawí* and *Diván* are

said to have been dictated by him to his friends, who wrote them down in the form in which they were spoken. His poetry has all the ease and copiousness of his conversation, and his conversation, though it never reaches the highest level of his poetry, is not unworthy of a poet. One feels that he drew from an inexhaustible source, and that for him the words which occur so many times in the *Mathnawī* were full of meaning—in *sukhun piyān nadārad*, “this discourse has no end.”

The following extracts, though out of their context, will not be obscure to anyone familiar with the doctrines of the Sūfis:—

“Speech is a person’s shadow. If the shadow attracts, much more will the reality. Speech is only the pretence. One human being is attracted to another by some affinity. Nay, even though a man sees a thousand miracles, they are of no avail unless he have some portion of affinity with the prophet or saint who performs them. It is that portion that keeps him in longing and restlessness. If the straw have nothing in common with the amber, the straw will never move towards the amber. . . . Man is drawn to whatever he fancies. The fancy of the garden takes him to the garden, the fancy of the shop to the shop; but in these fancies there is a hidden deceit. You may go somewhere and then be sorry and say, ‘I thought it would be good.’ These fancies are like the veil that hides a person. When the fancies depart, and the realities show themselves unveiled, it is like the Day of Resurrection—the Day on which ‘men’s inmost hearts shall be searched’ (Kor. lxxxvi, 9); and by that time repentance is of no use. The realities that attract you seem to be diverse, but, in truth, that by which you are attracted is One. Don’t you see that although man desires a hundred things, the origin is hunger, which is one?—and as soon as he has eaten his fill, he says, ‘I want nothing more.’”

“Do not say, ‘I have done wrong.’ Make a habit of doing right, and then there will be no wrong. Righteousness is like

Moses' rod, while wrong actions resemble the enchantments of Pharaoh's magicians: when righteousness appears, it swallows them up. If you do evil, you do evil to yourself; no one else is hurt.

A bird settled on the top of a mountain and flew away: Was the mountain any the better or any the worse?"

"Man is the astrolabe of God, but it needs an astronomer to understand the astrolabe. . . . The meaning of this is explained by the saying of the Prophet, 'He that knows himself knows his Lord.' Man is God's astrolabe, and just as by means of an astrolabe the astronomer discovers the conditions of the heavenly spheres and observes their revolutions, and the influences and motions of the stars, so when Man has received from God the gift of self-knowledge, by means of the astrolabe of his existence, which is a Divine mirror, he continually beholds the manifestation of the Divine beauty without attributes and beyond description; and of that beauty this mirror is never void."

"Jalālu'ddīn was asked, 'Is there any way to God nearer than prayer?' 'No,' he replied; 'but prayer does not consist in forms alone. Formal prayer has a beginning and an end, like all forms and bodies and everything that partakes of speech and sound, but the soul is unconditioned and infinite: it has neither beginning nor end. The prophets have shown the true nature of prayer. . . . Prayer is the drowning and unconsciousness of the soul, so that all these forms remain without. At that time there is no room even for Gabriel, who is pure spirit.¹ One can say that the man who prays in this fashion is exempt from all religious obligations, since he is deprived of his intelligence. Absorption in the Divine Unity is the soul of prayer."

"Our body is like Mary, and every one of us hath a Jesus. If we feel pains, our Jesus is born; if there be no pains in us, he returns to his home in the hidden world whence he was

¹ Referring to the Hadīth, "I have a time with God of such sort that neither angel nor prophet partakes thereof with me."

coming, and we remain unblest. . . . These words are for them that need words to help their understanding, but what need of words for them that understand without? After all, according to the view of those who possess understanding, Heaven and earth are words and are born of the Word, namely, the Creative Word *Kun* 'Be!''

Three passages in the *Fihī mā fihī* refer to Hallāj, the famous Sūfī who said *Ana 'l-Haqq* "I am God", and was crucified at Baghdād in A.D. 922. The longest and most important of these runs as follows:—

"When a fly is plunged in honey, all the members of its body are reduced to the same condition, and it does not move. Similarly, the term *istighrāq* (absorption in God) is applied to one who has no conscious existence or initiative or movement. Any action that proceeds from him is not his own. If he is still struggling in the water, or if he cries out, 'Oh, I am drowning,' he is not said to be in the state of 'absorption'. This is what is signified by the words *Ana 'l-Haqq* 'I am God'. People imagine that it is a presumptuous claim, whereas it is really a presumptuous claim to say *Ana 'l-'abd* 'I am the servant of God'; and *Ana 'l-Haqq* 'I am God' is an expression of great humility. The man who says *Ana 'l-'abd* 'I am the servant of God' affirms two existences, his own and God's, but he that says *Ana 'l-Haqq* 'I am God' has made himself non-existent and has given himself up and says 'I am God', i.e. 'I am naught, He is all: there is no being but God's'. This is the extreme of humility and self-abasement."

No one who has read the profound study of the Hallājīan doctrine, which we owe to M. Massignon, will think it likely that Hallāj would have accepted such an interpretation. He, at any rate, was not a pantheist, whatever Jalālu'ddīn may have been. I have discussed elsewhere¹ the question whether pantheism can fairly be attributed to the author of the *Mathnawī*, and will not touch upon it now, but I should

¹ *The Idea of Personality in Sūfism*, pp. 52, 73.

like to quote from this new book a passage which indicates that Jalálu'ddín believed in personal immortality up to a certain point.

"A man (he says) soon loses his friend. Don't you see that in this world, when you have become friendly with some person, and in your eyes he is a Joseph, on account of a single bad action he becomes hidden from your sight, and you lose him? He whom you regarded as a Joseph now seems to you to be a wolf, though his appearance is just the same: you have lost him because of this one superficial act. At the Resurrection, when this nature (*dhát*) shall be exchanged for another, how will you recognize him unless you have known him well and have gone deep down into his personality? The upshot is that we must turn away from the good and evil qualities in every man that are borrowed (i.e. unreal) and penetrate into the essence of his personality, and consider that the qualities which men see in one another are not fundamental qualities."

While the contents of the *Fíhi má fíhi* are probably genuine on the whole, some parts of it arouse suspicion. To give one instance, it is hard to believe that Jalálu'ddín said, "What have I to do with poetry? By God, I am quit of it, for nothing is more base. I only recite it to please my friends when they come to see me, for fear lest they should be bored." But this is no time for criticism, and, in conclusion, here are two anecdotes which seem to show that Jalálu'ddín might have entertained his friends pretty well without putting himself on the rack, as he says, to make poetry for them.

The first story illustrates a saying of the Prophet, that Islam will not let go anyone who embraces it until it has made him utterly selfless.

"There was a certain schoolmaster who was so very poor that even in winter he wore nothing but a tunic of cotton. One day, as he was walking with his young pupils, they came to a river in flood and saw a bear which had been swept away by the torrent and was floating along with its head in the

water. 'O master,' exclaimed the children, 'look, here's a fur coat for you! Pull it out of the water.' He would have done so, but the bear gripped him. The children shouted, 'O master, be quick! Pull out the fur coat, or else let go!' 'I have let go of it,' he replied, 'but it won't let go of me.'"

The second anecdote exemplifies the doctrine of moral responsibility. Every action produces a corresponding effect. "This world," Jalālu'ddīn says, "is like a mountain. Whatsoever you say, whether good or evil, you hear its echo from the mountain."

"A certain man was shaking fruit off a tree when the owner of the garden arrived and said to him, 'Why are you doing this? Aren't you afraid of God?' 'Why should I be afraid?' said he. 'The tree is God's, and the garden is God's, and I am God's servant. God's servant is eating God's fruit.' 'Wait a moment,' said the other, 'and I will answer you.' Then he called his slaves and bade them fetch a rope and tie the man to the tree and thrash him soundly until the answer was ready. After having received many blows, he cried out with a loud voice, 'Aren't you afraid of God? Do you wish to kill me?' 'Why should I be afraid?' replied the owner of the garden. 'You are God's servant, and this cudgel is God's cudgel. I am thrashing God's servant with God's cudgel. All comes from God.'"

NOTE.—In January, 1924, I received through the kindness of Ḥusayn Dānish Bey a text of the *Fīhi mā fīhi* based on four Constantinople MSS., three of which belong to the library of the Mevlevī convent at Yeni-Kapu. The preface found in the Indian copies does not occur in the Constantinople text.

- A Debate between Christian and Moslem Doctors

BY ALFRED GUILLAUME

IT may seem strange that I should have chosen religious controversy as a subject on which to address members of the Royal Asiatic Society on the occasion of its centenary. But it is because, and not in spite of, the fact that the Society embraces so many Christian and Muhammadan scholars that I venture to exhume a mujādala which lived and died in the reign of the Caliph Al-Ma'mūn.

I owe the opportunity of the present study to the kindness of the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, who was good enough to lend the University of Durham MS.

arabe No. 70, which I hope to edit shortly, entitled مجادلة

الاب الفاضل الاسقف ابي قرة اسقف مدينة حران

وما جرى له في مجلس الامون مع بعض متكلمين الاسلام

and to Mr. Gaselee, of the Foreign Office, who, through diplomatic channels, obtained the loan of the book. The MS. is ascribed by the author of the Paris catalogue to the fifteenth century.

The Christian protagonist was Theodore Abū Qurra, Bishop of Harran (long known to patrology as Abucara), who, as the researches of Père Bacha¹ and Georg Graf² have shown, was a native of Edessa, and came under the literary, and possibly the personal, influence of John of Damascus, whom he acclaims as his master. Some of his Greek writings were

¹ *Un Traité des œuvres arabes de Théodore Abou-Kurra*, Tripoli de Syrie, n.d.

² *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abū Qurra*, von Dr. Georg Graf. Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte. Paderborn, 1910. Band x, 3/4 Heft.

published as long ago as 1606 by the Jesuits at Ingolstadt. Though not devoid of originality they clearly show dependence on the work of the last great doctor of the Eastern Church. There was for a long time considerable doubt as to the exact position the writer held in the Eastern Church; the Hauran, Transjordan, and Mesopotamia being suggested as the seats of his episcopate. But the allusions in Michael the Syrian and the ascription in several MSS. of his works, including the one under notice, place the matter beyond doubt. From his connexion with John of Damascus, Thomas, Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Patriarch Theodoret, Abu Raïta of Takrit, and Al-Ma'mūn, we must suppose that he lived from about 740 to 820, and that the mujādala took place somewhere near the latter date. He was therefore a man well advanced in years at the time.

Our MS. is only one of a vast number of polemical works whose mere mention occupies some hundreds of pages of Steinschneider's bibliography of the subject.¹ The present one is interesting not only for the abiding importance of the questions it raises, but as indicating the lines on which orthodox Islam of the succeeding centuries has been influenced both positively and negatively by Christian controversialists. As an example, we may cite the dogma of predestination, of which I have written more fully elsewhere.² The Mu'tazilites and Qadarites in many places reproduce the arguments, and sometimes the very words, of Christian theologians in support of the doctrine of man's free will. In his chapter on Qadar, Al-Bukhārī hardly records a single saying of Muhammad which does not imply that all man's acts and his very nature itself are foreordained *in utero*. In view of the number of Qurānic texts which could be quoted in support of the unfettered responsibility of man for his actions, it is at first sight strange that the canonical hadith which were then being collected fail to allow a place for the doctrine. We shall

¹ *Polem. und apolog. Literatur in arab. Sprache*, Leipzig, 1877.

² *JRAS.*, Jan., 1924.

probably be right in attributing the omission to the fact that Free Will as opposed to Predestination was an urgent and insistent demand of contemporary Byzantine theologians. The writings of John of Damascus and Abū Qurra's works in Greek will clearly illustrate this point.

GENUINENESS

I think the mujādala may, with some hesitation, be accepted as substantially the work of the author whose name it bears. Père Bacha, who is the only contemporary scholar to have examined and edited the works of Abū Qurra, decides in its favour. Graf, it is only fair to say, refuses to admit that the work is genuine for the following reasons :—

(a) The literary form, he claims, is different, and there is not the least trace of that clear thinking which marks Abū Qurra's unquestioned writings.

(b) The document is worthless historically. It is "ganz undenkbar" that Muslim doctors would allow the Qurān to be treated with disrespect and misquoted. He thinks that the Muslims would have replied with dozens of quotations from the Qurān contradicting those cited by Abū Qurra.

Graf's theory is that directly or even indirectly Abū Qurra had nothing to do with the mujādala attributed to him, but that it is a composition of a later age (he gives 1365 as a *terminus ante quem*) in which apologists have utilized the name and reputation of the doctor in order to strengthen their case. The court of Al-Ma'mūn, he admits, was happily thought of as a background for the imaginary debate.

I must confess that to me this theory of the *raison d'être* of the book is singularly unconvincing. Is it reasonable to suppose that the prestige of any Christian doctor stood so high among Muslims that some hundreds of years later his name, clumsily inserted at the head of a document, would be found to convince where argument failed? On the other hand, if the pseudograph was meant to deceive simple Christian people, what was the point of fathering *ex hypothesi* fallacious

and foolish arguments on a deceased theologian famous for his skill in controversy and apologetic? Polemic, unlike apocalyptic, stands or falls by the cogency of its appeal to reason.

With regard to the specific objections raised against the authenticity of our MS., I cannot agree that the differences in style and vocabulary between our MS. and the recognized works of Abū Qurra—if allowance is made for the inevitable difference between a theological treatise and a debate—are so great as to exclude the possibility of a common origin. On this point Bacha writes: “Après avoir lu attentivement ces controverses dans plusieurs manuscrits, nous avons constaté qu’elles présentent une grande ressemblance d’idées et de style avec les autres écrits d’Abou Kurra qui en est sans doute l’auteur.”¹

It might be agreed that there is a vigorous criticism of certain passages in the Qurān, but I fail to see why this should have been impossible in the presence of Al-Ma’mūn, who is notorious for his refusal to regard the Qurān as sacrosanct. Our MS. records that it was only his personal intervention that saved the Bishop from the wrath of his opponents. It is, of course, quite possible that a later writer has infused greater vigour into the Bishop’s words,² but it must be remembered that he was at this time an old man. Martyrdom would, at the most, only anticipate by a year or two his going the way of all flesh. History can supply us with numerous instances of outbursts from the aged directed against their political and religious rivals.

In reply to Graf’s objection that the Muhammadan doctors would not have remained silent while the Qurān was misquoted, it may be said that we do not possess more than a précis of the debate and that we find the Qurān misquoted by the learned author of the Apology of Al-Kindī. The

¹ Op. cit., p. 13.

² Interpolations almost certainly are to be found in fols. 170 and 173 and other places.

latter work, too, contains some grossly incorrect statements, yet its genuineness, so far as I know, has never been questioned. Al-Kindi is far more outspoken than Abū Qurra in his assault on Islam as a system and Muhammad as a prophet. He accuses Muhammad of lying, murder, brigandage, and unbridled lust. Yet we have the evidence of Al-Birūnī¹ that the *Risāla* was current in a Muhammadan country one hundred and fifty years after it first saw the light.²

I cannot find any examples of two co-ordinated substantives in the construct case with a dependent genitive on the model of اتصال واتحاد المسيح which Graf quotes as

vulgarisms. On the contrary, كلمة الله وروحه is always written. Moreover, precisely those expressions which he cites (p. 70) as common to the genuine works of Abū Qurra, both in Greek and Arabic, occur frequently in our MS. It is significant that Graf admits that the edition of Bacha, on which he bases his judgment as to the classical style of Abū Qurra as opposed to that of our MS., has been so carefully and silently "verbessert" by that scholar that it cannot be determined to what extent "Vulgarismen" occur in the MSS. Consequently, in the absence of an edition of the text of the *Mayāmīr* faithful to its exemplars, material necessary for an exhaustive comparison is not at the disposal of scholars.³ If we accept the work as that of the author whose name it bears, can we feel equal confidence in the truth of his account of the debate? I think there are indications which point to the veracity, if not always to the impartiality, of our author.

¹ *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 187.

² The tolerance of Muslims towards those who ridicule and misquote the Qurān is well attested by the still extant work of Abu 'l-'Alā, *Al-Fuṣūl wal-Ghāyāt*; see Nicholson, *LHA*, p. 318. Abū 'Ubaida, a contemporary of Abū Qurra, is notorious for his misquotations from works sacred and profane (*ib.*, pp. 344 f.).

³ It must be admitted, however, that the style is consistently inferior in our MS.

First, he makes no comment, favourable or otherwise, in support of his case. The document reads rather like a résumé of the proceedings, drawn up and circulated by the Bishop for the instruction of his presbyters.

Secondly, the Bishop is unable to reply convincingly to his Muslim opponents on some points.

Thirdly, the arguments are often those we know to have been employed by Christians in their disputes with Muslims.

Fourthly, although the document records the victory of the Christian disputant, it also records so many points in the Muslim's favour that one can hardly refuse to believe that it gives a substantially accurate and faithful account of what transpired.

Accepting, then, the general accuracy of the writer, we may proceed to examine the substance and the setting of the dispute.

In the first place it is asserted that the disputation was initiated by the Caliph himself. Nothing is said as to his motive. It might have been a mischievous attempt to add to the troubles of those whose tenets have since been held by orthodox Muslims; his dislike of certain dogmas is notorious. Or, as is more probable, it may have been due to the monarch's genuine interest in learning of all kinds. A somewhat similar séance with the Manichæans is recorded by the Fihrist.¹ At all events Abū Qurra presents to us the picture of a generous liberal-minded ruler who knows how to hold the balance even between disputants, and whose shrewd interruptions show a clear insight into the significance of the points at issue. It is the Caliph who opens the debate by an attack on the uncircumcised, which Abū Qurra parries by maintaining that the uncircumcised are as Adam was when God created him. He asserts that circumcision was merely a sign—a *wasm*, in fact—which marked off believers from idolators. All necessity for it ceased when Jesus put baptism in its place as a sign of the new covenant.

¹ i, p. 338.

His assertion that Jesus, the giver of the new covenant, is co-equal with God, evokes a protest from Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hāshimī,¹ who quotes freely Sur. iii, 52, and iv, 169, "The Messiah is the Word and Spirit of God which He sent to Mary. He is in the sight of God as Adam, whom He created of dust and breathed into Him of His Spirit." The whole course of the subsequent discussion turns on the interpretation of these words.

Much has been written of Muslim fanaticism and intolerance towards Christians, but the noble words of Al-Ma'mūn to the Bishop show that he is one of many unnoticed exceptions: "This is a court of justice and equity; none shall be wronged therein. So advance thy arguments and answer without fear, for there is none here who will not speak thee well. . . . Let everyone speak who has the wisdom to demonstrate the truth of his religion."

The disputants are agreed that Christ is the Word and Spirit of God. Abū Qurra goes further and wrings from his opponent the admission that though Adam was created from a substance known and definable, Christ, being the Word and Spirit of God, is indefinable and incomprehensible. He then presses Al-Hāshimī to acknowledge that he is creator not created.

There is a temptation to see in this the prototype of the controversy which convulsed Islam at that time, namely the question whether the Qurān was create or uncreate existent before all worlds. Some scholars have suggested that the doctrine of the heavenly eternal Qurān is modelled on the Eternal Logos of the Christian Church. If this is so Muslims must have borrowed it extremely early, for we find in the *Disputatio Saraceni et Christiani* of John of Damascus (fl. 730) the statement that Muslims regard the teaching that the word of God is created as grave heresy. As a matter of fact, the idea of a heavenly book subsisting on earth after

¹ The names of the Muhammadan disputants are probably *noms de plumes*.

its communication to man by the deity is far older than Christianity, and frequent mention of it may be found in the oral tradition of the Jews.¹ Moreover, the Qurān itself clearly postulates the existence of the written word of God preserved in heaven.

On the following day a new protagonist appears in the person of Ṣa'ṣa'a ibn Khālid of Baṣra, who is described as a scholar, author, and theologian of repute, who has specially distinguished himself in overthrowing the arguments of Christians in debate. Ṣa'ṣa'a shows his knowledge of the New Testament by asserting that the words of Jesus, "I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God," imply clearly that He was human, one of the sons of Adam. Abū Qurra rather shirks the difficulty and instead of pointing out the obvious that the almost tedious length of the sentence is to avoid the meaning that would lie in the simple statement "to our father and to our God" he enters into a long justification of the incarnation. And as though he realized that he had not dealt with Ṣa'ṣa'a's point, by an artifice familiar in all public debates, he endeavours to extricate himself from a difficulty by attacking a weakness in his opponent's position. Referring to Sur. v, 116, he demands "Why did God say to Jesus: Did you say to mankind, Adopt me and my mother as two Gods beside God? Jesus responded, Had I said that surely thou wouldst know it, because thou knowest what lies in my soul, but I know not what is in thine." Either God did not know that Jesus would answer thus, or He did not know the truth of the matter until He was told. In either case you make God to appear ignorant! On the other hand, if you say that God did know, then when was the question put, before Muhammad or after him? Ṣa'ṣa'a, after some deliberation, replies that the question will be put on the يوم القيامة.

In that case, says Abū Qurra, your prophet must have known what was in the mind of God before it existed and God did

¹ e.g. the Midrashic comments on Prov. viii, 22.

not know that Jesus had been calumniated until the day of judgment. Not so, says Ṣaṣa'a, with good reason. The question is only put in order that men may be instructed in the truth. The counter-attack of Abū Qurra is extremely clever; for obviously it would not be said that God did not know the answer to the question. Then, if God knew that Jesus had not claimed to be God, why did He ask Him? Ṣaṣa'a's reply that the answer is for men's benefit does not really clear up the difficulty, because question and answer at the day of judgment could obviously be of no help in the guidance of mankind in this life. And we must suppose that an unnecessary inquiry has to be made and answered at the last day in order to fulfil a prophecy in the Qurān.

Abū Qurra, apparently conscious that he has still left standing the Muslim's assertion that the New Testament justifies his claim that Christ was human and not divine, changes his ground somewhat. In what sense are we to understand the expression Son of God? You say Muhammad is called an Apostle of God, Abraham a friend of God, and Moses a speaker of God. What, then, is the objection to speaking of God's Spirit and Word as a Son, seeing that they proceed from Him? The discussion which follows demonstrates that the contesting parties do not use the same

terms in the same sense. To the Muslim the روح is the principle of life which is given to man by God as a mark of honour; and thus he seems to think that all men are in a sense partakers of the divine nature of life which God first breathed into Adam. Abū Qurra, by harping on the text "By the Word of God were the heavens created and by the breath of his mouth all the host of them", affirms that the Muslim makes himself equal with the Divine Word and Spirit that created him, and rather foolishly calls upon his adversary to demonstrate his equality with God by raising the dead as the Word of God did.

At this point one of the audience intervenes with the

remark that if Christ is the Christian's God, his God is dead. Abū Qurra replies by quoting Sur. iii, 48, to the effect that God took up Jesus to be with Him. Therefore He is not dead, but in heaven. With this statement the company agree. The Qurān is right in asserting that He was as Adam, truly man, but it also calls Him with equal propriety the Spirit and Word of God, a name not accorded to any of the angels, to say nothing of men. The name points to the nature of His being and the sphere of His work in His sovereign might and heavenly dignity and to the majesty of His nature. Here the Bishop asks, with wilful equivocation, what is more laudable than to obey the Word of God ? One can sympathize with the wrath this quibble evoked from a man of Kūfa, who complains both of the bishop's verbosity and of the caliph's patience.

The continuity of the debate is for a time broken by the arrival of a certain Husain, ibn Lawi¹ Al-Fārisī, whose name suggests the Jewish origin of its bearer. He breaks fresh ground by asserting that the Christians crucify their God and worship the wood on which He was crucified. Abū Qurra replies in words which display his dependence on his great master, John of Damascus, and further claims that the veneration and kissing of the black stone in Islam is similar in practice if not in significance to the honour in which the Cross is held by Christians.

The next point to be raised is : Who administered the affairs of heaven and earth while the Word of God was sent to Mary ? If Christ is to be identified with the Spirit of God used in this sense, which Muslims refuse to admit, did not God remain deprived of His Word and Spirit ? Abū Qurra replies that God is not confined locally ; His presence and His movements are alike incomprehensible. Just as the sun shines on everything upon the earth, utterly uninfluenced by the objects on which its rays fall, so the Word of God was both in heaven and on earth : no place can contain Him.

In order to overthrow the postulate of the divinity of

¹ Or Liwā.

Christ, a Hāshimite, who is not mentioned by name, asks whether Christ was crucified willingly or unwillingly. If willingly, then the Jews could not be held to blame; if unwillingly, then He is an impotent God. Abū Qurra argues similarly: Is it not true that you assert that we invent lies against your God? Are such inventions done by the will of God or contrary to the same? If by the will of God, we are not to blame. If against His will, He is an impotent God. The company agree that there is not a true analogy between the two examples; for, say they, God guideth thee, but thou dost not let thyself be guided. Abū Qurra responds by paraphrasing the Qurān. "He whom God leads astray cannot be rightly guided and he whom He guideth has not merit of his own." The dilemma: either Christ suffered willingly or unwillingly, with the conclusion already given, will be found in the *Disputatio* of John, Migne, vol. xcvi, col. 1340, and cf. vol. xciv, col. 1593.

The problem of predestination and free will which is thus lightly touched on in this précis of the mujādala is one that was discussed for centuries by Islamic divines, and it is of especial interest to English scholars since it was a British layman, Pelagius, who, three centuries before our author, stirred the greatest minds of the world to fierce debate. Despite the shortcomings of his theology, his primary assertions, that God is good and just, and that the glory of man is his free will and his reason, never ceased to exercise a profound influence on theology. The speculations his views aroused in the churches of Palestine and Syria whither he went to explain them were debated with undiminished zeal from his day, finding perhaps their nicest statement in the writings of John of Damascus. How warmly these views were adopted by the Mu'tazila—and particularly by those of this very epoch, Al-Ma'mūn himself becoming of their number—is well known to students and need not be elaborated. An interesting feature in the present discussion is the fact that the Muslim disputant clearly recognizes (as later Muslim divines almost always did

despite the absence of any support in the ḥadīth of Al-Bukhārī) that man is responsible for his actions. So far as the Qurānic text to which Abū Qurra appeals is concerned it may be argued that اضلّ means no more than "allows to err".

Little more of interest meets us in the debate, which concludes with the withdrawal of the Muhammadan doctors, silenced yet unconvinced.

It will have become obvious that no definite conclusion could have been reached by the disputing parties for the very good reason that they did not begin with fundamentals and definitions, but argued from a position which assumed the acceptance of several propositions not previously agreed upon. On the one hand, Abū Qurra's failure to offer any explanation of the doctrine of the Trinity (an omission which he makes good in his mayāmīr published by Bacha, Beyrout, 1904), and on the other the Muslim's failure to present a reasoned statement of the Word and Spirit of God consonant with the utterances of the Qurān on this subject, remind us that both Christianity and Islam are, so far as apologetics are concerned, where Abū Qurra and his friends left them—fruitful sources of misunderstanding the one to the other. We hear at the court of Al-Ma'mūn in the early ninth century the same taunts that are heard to-day that the Christians are كافرين و مشركين and that the Muslims have no standard of morality. Neither statement will bear investigation.

It is significant, and I believe hopeful, that as in the Caliphate of Al-Ma'mūn, when learning and culture were diffused throughout the Islamic world, so now when the wheel of time has brought in again an age of science and letters, Muslim and Christian may once more be content to agree that Christ is a Spirit and the Word of God and that God has breathed into man of His Spirit.

وقوله: يحذرکم الله نفسه والله رؤف بالعباد

**The *Tajaribu's-Salaf*, a Persian version of the
Arabic *Kitabu'l-Fakhri*, composed by Hindushah
ibn Sanjar as-Sahibi al-Kirani in 723/1323**

By E. G. BROWNE

THAT so attractive and useful a historical manual as the *Kitabu'l-Fakhri* should be represented, so far as is known, by only one complete manuscript,¹ on which all the printed editions are based, is a fact so remarkable that Ahlwardt, who first edited the text in 1860, has thought it necessary to suggest an explanation.² Good as this manuscript appears to be, it presents several lacunæ, and in particular some uncertainty prevails as to the name of the author and the proper title of the work. On these questions the Persian manuscript which forms the subject of this notice throws a certain amount of light.

The manuscript in question (now marked G. 3) was one of forty-seven which I bought from the late Hájji 'Abdu'l-Majid Belshah in January, 1920. It is written throughout in a small, clear, modern *naskh*, with rubrications; was transcribed in Dhu'l-Hijja, 1286/March, 1870; comprises 190 ff. of 22·7 × 16 centimetres and 19 lines; and presents a continuous text containing about 108,000 words, and beginning:—

ادامت تهليل و تمجيد و اقامتِ تسبيح و تحميد حضرت
ذو الجلال را سزد كه بجمكت بالغه و قدرتِ كامله

¹ This was the only MS. (895 of the *Ancien Fonds Arabe*, now 2441 of the *Fonds Arabe*) used by Ahlwardt, whose *editio princeps* was published at Gotha in 1860. H. Derenbourg, who re-edited the text in 1895, discovered another MS. (982 of the *Ancien Fonds Arabe*, now 2442 of the *Fonds Arabe*) which contains the first part only. The text has been reprinted in Cairo in 1317/1900 and 1923.

² See pp. xxx-xxxi of his *Einleitung*.

موجوداتِ سماوی و ارضی را از مكامنِ عدم بمظاهر
وجود رسانید آئین.

The comparatively short and simple doxology is followed by a clear, concise, and business-like preface of 43 lines, beginning:—

محرّر این احوال و مقررّ این اقوال الفقير الى الله الغنى
هندوشاه ابن سنجر بن عبد الله الصاحبى الكيرانى (?) عفى
الله عنه میگوید . . .

“ Says the reporter of these events and the recorder of these sayings . . . Hindúsháh ibn Sanjar ibn ‘Abdu’lláh aş-Şáhibí al-Kírání,¹ may God pardon him . . . ”

The substance of what he says is as follows:—

Moved by the reports which had reached him of the generosity, justice, learning, and virtue of the Atábek Nuşratu’d-Dín Aḥmad, son of the late Atábek Nuşratu’d-Dín Yúsuf Sháh, son of the Atábek Shamsu’d-Dín Alp-Arghún, son of Malik Naşru’d-Dín Hazárasp, the author desired to visit his court, but felt that he could not do so without offering some visible tribute of his devotion and loyalty, which, as he was a poor man, must needs take the form of a book to be dedicated to the Prince in question. As regards the subject, he finally decided in favour of history, a branch of learning distinguished by five special advantages (*fá’ida*) which he enumerates. He entitled his book *Tajáribu’s-Salaf* (“ Experiences of our Predecessors ”), and borrowed most of

¹ I cannot offer a satisfactory explanation of these two *nisbas*. The first may indicate some relationship to the *Şáhib-Diwán* Bahá’u’d-Dín Juwaynî. The only place called *Kirán* of which I can find mention is a castle (*Qal’a-i-Kirán*), to which two references occur in vol. ii of the *Ta’rikh-i-Jahán-gushá* (Gibb Series, xvi, 2), p. 182, l. 17, and p. 185, l. 1. From a casual reference in the *Tajáribu’s-Salaf* it would appear to have been situated near Nakhjuwán.

its contents from the *Munyatul-Fudalá fí tawdriki'l-Khulafá wa'l-Wuzará* ("the Scholars' Desire, on the histories of Caliphs and Wazirs"), composed by the late Şafiyu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn 'Alí al-'Alawí at-Ṭiqṭaqá for the library of his lord and patron Jalálu'd-Dín Zangí Sháh ibn Badru'd-Dín Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad of Dámghán. He decided to omit nothing contained in that book, but to add some matters derived from other sources. The year 723/1323 is indicated in the margin of f. 2a as the date when he formed this resolution and embarked on this enterprise.¹ It appears that this important detail was accidentally omitted by the scribe in copying the text, of which the concluding portion containing the particulars of authorship, etc., runs thus:—

بناءً على هذه القاعدة این کتاب را که موسوم است
بتجارب السلف در علم تواریخ جمع کرده آمد و اکثر
آنرا از کتاب منیة الفضلاء فی تواریخ الخلفاء و الوزراء
از مصنّفات مرتضی سعید ملک المحققین صفی الحق
والملة والدین محمد بن علی العلوی الطقطقی رحمه الله تعالى
که جهة دار الکتب مخدوم و مربی این ضعیف صاحب
اعظم خدیو معظم مالک اسلام زبده الیالی والایام اعقل
الملوک و افضلهم اکمل الؤلاة و اعدلهم ذو الحزم المتین و
الرأی المبین تقاوة الموجودات من الماء و الطین اخو کبار
السلطین السابق فی مضمار المکارم علی الاکرمین

¹ On f. 156b, 724/1324 is mentioned as the current date.

جلال الحقّ والدّنيا والدّین زنگی شاه بن الصاحب السعید
بدر الحقّ والدّین حسن بن احمد الدامغانی أعزّ الله أنصاره
وضاعف أقداره وخلّد (f. 3a) جلاله ومدّ على المسامین
ظلاله ساخته است و آنرا بفصیح ترین عبارتی پرداخته
تقل کرده شد بشرط آنکه هر آنچه در آن کتاب موجود
است در این نسخه هم موجود باشد مع الزواید الملتقطة من
غیره، امید بفیض فضل یزدانی واثق است که مقبول نظر
سعادت بخش گردد و چون صیتِ سایرِ این حضرت بهمه
آفاق و اقطار ممالک برسد ان شاء الله تعالی وحده العزیز،

The "Hazáraspid" Atábek of Luristán, Nuṣratu'd-Dín Aḥmad, who reigned from A.H. 696 to 733 (A.D. 1296 to 1333),¹ and to whom this Persian version of the *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí* is dedicated, is mentioned in laudatory terms by Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí in his *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzida*,² composed in 730/1329-30, while he was still reigning, having made Luristán, according to this historian, "the envy of Paradise." Our author and his book are briefly mentioned by Ḥájji Khalífa, No. 2432,³ but, as he does not cite the opening words, he may not actually have seen it. The original *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí*, on the other hand, is not mentioned in this great bibliography either by this title or by that of *Munyatul-Fudalá*, by which Hindúsháh knew it. Its author's name is given in the usual form, except that the words "Ibn Tabátabá" are omitted, as they

¹ See S. Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, pp. 174-5.

² E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xiv, i, pp. 545-6, ii, pp. 136-7.

³ Flügel's edition, vol. ii, p. 191.

are in the second and incomplete manuscript discovered by Derenbourg; but the name of the Prince for whose library the Arabic original was composed is here given as Jalálu'd-Dín Zangí Sháh ibn Badru'd-Dín Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad of Dámghán, whereas the original *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí* is dedicated to Fakhru'd-Dín 'Ísá ibn Ibráhím, from whose title it derives its name. I am at present unable either to explain this discrepancy or to give any particulars as to the above-mentioned Jalálu'd-Dín Zangí Sháh.

Another modern MS. of the *Tajáribu's-Salaf* (*Suppl.-Pers.* 1552 = *Schefer* 237) is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and is briefly noticed by Blochet¹ and Amar.² "Comme on le voit," says the latter (p. xxviii), "il s'agirait d'une traduction fortement remaniée. D'ailleurs le fait que l'auteur a donné aussi l'histoire de Mahomet, montre qu'il n'a pas suivi exactement le plan d'Ibn at-Tiqtaqá. Mais laissons à M. Blochet le soin de nous renseigner d'une façon précise sur ce point d'histoire littéraire, qu'il a étudié d'une manière spéciale."

Hindúsháh, the author of the Persian version, explicitly states that he proposes to treat only of post-Islamic times, because of the uncertain and legendary character of the earlier period, but that, though the author of the original Arabic work (*muṣannif-i-aṣl*) has begun his book with the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, he has thought it better to give a brief account of his life, based on the Persian translation of Ṭabari's great history. This account is very short, extending only from f. 3a, last line, to f. 6a, l. 13, and treats of (1) the Prophet's genealogy; (2) his wars; (3) his wives; (4) his amanuenses; (5) his personal appearance; (6) his names and titles; (7) his death. On the other hand, he

¹ *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. i, p. 251, No. 373 (Paris, 1905).

² *Archives Marocaines*, vol. xvi: *al-Fakhrí traduit de l'Arabe et annoté*, par Emil Amar (Paris, 1910), pp. xxvi-xxviii. The MS. in question was copied in 1304/1886-7.

entirely omits the first part or section (*faṣl*) of the original (ed. Ahlwardt, pp. 19-88; ed. Derenbourg, pp. 20-100) dealing with "Royal Affairs and Imperial Politics", so that the correspondence between the two versions only begins with the "First Dynasty" or "Dynasty of the Four" [Orthodox Caliphs], f. 6*b*, l. 15 of my MS. = p. 89, l. 3 of Ahlwardt's text. Hindúsháh distinguishes three "principal" (*aṣli*) and three "derivative" (*far'í*) dynasties, viz. the Orthodox, Umayyad, and 'Abbásid Caliphs on the one hand, and the Fátimids, Buwayhids, and Saljúqs on the other. The rulers of these "derivative" dynasties, which arose under the 'Abbásid Caliphs and usurped their power in an ever-increasing degree, are discussed under the reigns of the Caliphs contemporary with each of them, and as their importance steadily increases as time goes on, they occupy a larger space in the Persian version as the narrative proceeds, so that the correspondence between the two versions is much closer in the earlier than in the later portion of the work, as may be seen from the following comparative table:—

pp. 89-189 of Ahlwardt's Arabic text	=	ff. 6 <i>b</i> —50 <i>a</i> of the Persian text.
pp. 190-290 " " "	=	ff. 50—93 " "
pp. 290-390 " " "	=	ff. 93-186 " "

Thus the first hundred pages of the original Arabic are represented by 44 ff. of the Persian; the second hundred by 44 ff.; and the third hundred by 93 ff., so that the last half of the Persian version contains very much more new material connected with the "derivative" or "subsidiary" dynasties than the first, which follows the original pretty closely, though it is seldom a mere slavish translation. Sometimes explanations are added of rare words occurring in the original,¹ as, for instance, of the word *tásúma* ("sandal") on p. 89, l. 8 of Ahlwardt's text (MS., f. 6*b*, last line):—

¹ So the word *شعر* (ed. Ahlwardt, p. 94, l. 12) is explained on f. 13*a*

as a frontier post between the lands of Islám and the lands of the unbelievers, "such as the town of Dawín once was, having on the one side Nakhjuwán and on the other Georgia."

و تاسومه بغدادیان نعلی را بگویند که دوالها بر آن دوخته
باشند و آنرا کسی پوشد که بر پای زخمی دارد و کفش
تواند پوشید،

Particulars lacking in the Arabic original, even Arabic verses, are often added, and reference is sometimes made to other works consulted by the translator. Thus, in enumerating various illustrious persons descended from Abú Bakr, such as Shaykh Shihábu'd-Dín 'Umar as-Suhrawardí, author of the *'Awárifu'l-Ma'árif*, Ibnu'l-Jawzí, and Fakhru'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ar-Rázi, the author of the great commentary on the *Qur'án*, he refers (f. 8b) in connexion with the last-named to the *Mu'jamu Ahli'l-Adab*, by which he presumably intends Yáqút's *Mu'jamu'l-Udabá*. Other works cited include Ṭabarí's history (f. 17b; probably the Persian version by Bal'amí), Ibn Qutayba's *Kitábu'l-Ma'árif* (f. 20b), the Persian *Jawámi'u'l-Hikáyát* of Muḥammad 'Awfí (ff. 34a, 34b, 138b), Abú Isháq as-Ṣábi (f. 119a), and Anúsharwán ibn Khálid's *Nafthatu'l-Maṣḍúr* (f. 138b). At the end of his account of the execution of al-Ḥalláj (f. 100b), he says that Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibnu'l-Ḥakím al-Kíshí, one of his former masters and teachers, composed a Persian treatise on the prayer [of al-Ḥalláj], beginning:—

اُقْتُلُونِي يَا ثِقَاتِي اَنْ فِي قَتْلِي حَيَاتِي،

فَمَا نِي فِي حَيَاتِي وَ حَيَاتِي فِي مَمَاتِي،

One of the longest additions to the original, occupying ff. 112b, l. 8, to 128b, l. 8, inserted between the reigns of the Caliphs at-Tá'í and al-Qádir (ed. Ahlwardt, p. 337, l. 4), deals with the *wazírs* of the Buwayhids; and concerning the *wazírs* of the House of Saljúq also, especially the celebrated Nizámu'l-Mulk, many additional particulars are given.

Sometimes Hindúsháh expressly dissents from his original, as in the following remarks (f. 154a) on the place of burial of the Caliph al-Mustarshid, who was assassinated at Marágha at the beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 529 (13th August, 1135):

و جنازهٔ اورا قضاة و ائمه و اشراف و اعظم ممالك بر
سر گرفتند و در مراغه بردند و در مدرسه که در محله
قضاة است و بمدرسه اتابك مراغه باز خوانند دفن
کردند و گنبد عالی بساختند و در آن مدرسه اتفاقاً پنج
گنبد است در پس صفهٔ درس و یکی از آن خلیفه
مسترشد است و این ضعیف بارها آن مشهد متبرک را
زیارت کرده است و استغاثه خواسته، اما مصنف
مرتضی سمیع صفی الدین چنین نوشته است که
مسترشدرای بدهی بردند که بر در مراغه است و این درست
نیست للمشاهده،

He seems, however, either to misquote his original or to have had before him a different text, for the author of the *Kitāb ul-Fakhrī* (ed. Ahlwardt, p. 350, l. 13) says: "Then [the body of] al-Mustarshid was carried to Marágha on the heads of the 'ulamā and nobles, and was buried there, and his tomb is still well known there, under a fine dome, which I saw when I reached Marágha in the year 697/1297-8."

The Persian version is generally sufficiently near the Arabic original to be of some value in determining doubtful readings. Thus the words:—

لقد اعترضتُ منذ أيام جباب سليمان فوجدتُ اثر
الذهن في اكمامها فظننتُهُ طيباً

(Ahlwardt's ed., p. 152, last line : Derenbourg's ed., p. 174, l. 15) are translated by Amar (p. 205): "Il y a quelques jours, en effet, j'ai vu par hasard les *djoubba* (robes amples) de Soulaïmân, j'y ai trouvé la trace de la graisse dans les manches. J'ai cru qu'elles avaient dû appartenir à un médecin."

In the most recent Cairo edition of the text (1923, p. 116) the reading طيباً ("physician") has been emended to طيباً ("perfume"), and this correction is borne out by the Persian text, which runs (f. 37a of my MS., l. 11):—

از چند روز باز جامه‌ء سليمان بن عبد الملك بر من
عرض ميکردند نشان روغن بر آستينها بديدم گفتم
مگر عير باشد،

"Some days ago they were showing me the garments of Sulayman ibn 'Abdu'l-Malik. I saw on the sleeves the traces of oil. I said, 'It must be *'abir*.¹'"

This confirms the emendation (I suppose conjectural) of the latest Cairo edition of the Arabic text, and no doubt other doubtful readings might be similarly elucidated. The Arabic verses, on the other hand, are neither very clearly nor very correctly transcribed, and are never translated in the Persian version, and such variants as my MS. presents are seldom, so far as I have examined them, improvements. Thus, for instance, in the well-known verse applied by 'Alî to Ibn Muljam:—

أريد جباؤه ويريد قتي، عذيرك من خليلك من مراد،

¹ "A certain perfume and unguent made of saffron, musk, ambergris, and fragrant oils."

my MS. (f. 18a, l. 12) substitutes *جاءه* for *حياته*, an ingenious rather than a satisfactory emendation.

In conclusion it is worth noticing that the Persian version tends to a greater refinement than the Arabic original, as may be seen from the following paraphrase of ll. 3-8 of p. 133 of Ahlwardt's edition :—

شرح استلحاق معاويه زياد بن ابيه را، سميّه مادر زياد از زانيات جاهليت بود و شوهرى داشت نامش عبيد، شبي ابو سفيان بخانه ابو مريم خمار افتاد از او زنى بغيّه طلبيد، ابو مريم نام سميّه بُرد، ابو سفيان گفت اگرچه او بس كريهه و ناخوش است اما چاره نيست، ابو مريم سميّه را پيش او آورد، ابو سفيان با او مباضعت كرد و او بزياد حامله شد،

So likewise, a little further on, ll. 11-17 of p. 134 of Ahlwardt's edition are thus paraphrased :—

و اتفاقاً ابو مريم خمار از جمله گواهان بود و در همان مجلس قضيه سميّه و اجتماع ابو سفيان با او بر صورت مذکور تقرير كرد، زياد گفت ترا آورده اند تا گواه باشى يا ابطال نسب كنى،

This avoidance of unnecessary coarseness is a notable feature of the Persian version, which if printed would make an admirable historical textbook for Persian students.

The Beginnings of Arabic Lexicography till the time of al-Jauhari, with special reference to the work of Ibn Duraid

By F. KRENKOW

THE early beginnings of grammatical and lexicographical studies of the Arabic language are said to have been due to the desire to enable the many converts to Islam to understand the meanings of the Holy Book correctly as their languages differed and the Qur'ān contained many words and expressions which were by no means clear to the Arabs themselves. It is not surprising therefore to find that the chief of the early interpreters of the Qur'ān, Ibn 'Abbās, is stated to have been learned in "Lughā", i.e. lexicography or interpretation of words. The real home however, of these studies lay in the borderland towards Persia, in the newly founded towns of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. As the originator of these studies generally, Abul-Aswad ad-Du'ālī¹ is named. His work has not come down to us, but it can only have consisted of a few general notes. The man, if judged by the poems which have been preserved in a *Dīwān* edited by Nöldeke and Rescher, gives the impression of not being endowed with high ideals, but conceited beyond the measure of his own worth. As an example that circles existed in his time in which the display of strange words was appreciated, a poem rhyming upon the letter *Dāl* may serve, in which he defies his adversary to produce one upon the same rhyme.

There are reasons to believe that the study of words is much older, and we can read that the poet an-Nābigha ad-Dubaynī found fault with expressions used by the poet al-Hassān in one of his poems.² Whether this account be

¹ Died A.H. 69; Zubaidi, *Ṭabaqat*, p. 9.

² *Agh.* viii, 195.

apocryphical or not, the very fact that poets before Islam adorned their verses with little known or foreign words points to an early practice of interpreting the words that were unknown to the ordinary listener.

The scientific study we must date from the time of the sons of al-'Alā', Abu 'Amr and Sulaimān, of whom the former is the more celebrated. Though none of his works have come down to us, which he is said to have destroyed upon taking a religious turn of mind, we find his name continually mentioned as the master of the grammarians of the following generation. Abul-'Alā' appears to have been a man of various interests and studies, and we are told that he not only collected books but also coins. We are not told whether he could read the legends on the latter or not, but I believe that he probably possessed the knowledge. He is also renowned as a traditionist and as one of the great Readers of the Qur'ān. He must have made his lexical enquiries fairly early in life, for we are informed in several works that he could not say whether his joy at the news of the death of al-Ḥajjāj in the year 95 of the Hijra was greater, or hearing from a Bedouin the pronunciation of the word "Farja". According to his own statement he was then twenty years old. He copied much, and his books are said to have filled one room to the ceiling; these he destroyed when, as stated, he had a fit of pious enthusiasm. Later, when he turned again to linguistical studies, he had to rely upon his memory, but he had retained so much that he could answer his pupil al-Aṣma'i a thousand questions and prove the correctness of his statements by verse from poets who had lived before Islām.

These statements cause us to pause. If he could write so much as to fill a whole room, the material to write upon must have been comparatively easy to obtain and at a reasonable price. I believe that the eager collecting of traditions and linguistical notes at this period received partly an impetus by the introduction of paper in quantities. We may also be sure that most of the ancient poetry, the raw

material for lexicographical studies, was at this time conveyed to writing, surely only the texts, to which later notes were added in the margins.¹ Abu 'Amr died in A.H. 154, and none of his works have come down to us.

If we cannot estimate the value of the earliest scholars we possess, fortunately, the text of the great dictionary which al-Khalil ibn Aḥmad either composed or at least commenced, and for which he certainly supplied the linguistical material. Al-Khalil came from a small 'Omānī tribe, the Farāhid, and settled in al-Baṣra. He was born about the year A.H. 100, and therefore approximately fifty years of age when Abu 'Amr died. From the scattered news we find about him in various works he was a man of pleasant social qualities, always on the alert for new ideas. It was he who brought the metres of Arabic poetry into a system by finding out that all ancient poetry as far as the metres were concerned could be classed under fifteen metres, which he ingeniously arranged in circles. He probably also invented the names of the metres, though several of them are actually named in verses by poets who lived before al-Khalil. If this work was of the utmost importance, his other great work, the Kitāb al-'Ain, was probably more so. He conceived the idea of composing a dictionary containing the whole treasure of the Arabic language, explaining the meaning and adducing verses and traditions as evidence of the use of the word with the meaning explained. I think, except for the Chinese, this was the first time that a scholar attempted a dictionary on so vast a scale. Al-Khalil was not content with the planning of such a work, but he attempted to compose it upon a scientific basis, which, however, proved to be one of the primary causes for the book not finding favour. He tells us in the

¹ A fine example of the way this was done is the manuscript of the *Diwān* of 'Abid. The copy in the British Museum has evidently been copied from a very ancient codex which had marginal notes. Part of these were illegible on the edge of the paper, and the Spanish scribe wrote in making his copy as much as he could make out under the text. This accounts for the many incomplete sentences in the text of the commentary.

introduction of the Kitāb al-‘Ain that he considered carefully the manner in which the various letters of the Arabic alphabet were produced, and found that the place of their articulation ranged from the depth of the throat to the tip of the lips. He consequently arranged a new alphabet in which the letter ‘Ain commenced the series, because it was produced deepest down in the throat and it was followed by the other letters or sounds in the rotation of their place of articulation, as follows :—

ع ح * خ غ * ق ك * ج ش ض * ص س ز *
ط ت د * ظ ذ ث * ر ل ن ف ب م * و ي *

The various explanations and reasons are elucidated by al-Khalil and his pupil al-Laith in the edition of the Kitāb al-‘Ain which Père Anastase commenced to edit from an old manuscript in Najaf just before the war, and of which 144 pages were printed off when Baghdad was captured and the copies sold for wrapping paper and the press destroyed.

After the introduction, al-Khalil commences his dictionary with the words which contain the letter ‘Ain in any part of the word, beginning with the geminate roots كعّ, عكّ, قعّ, عقق, etc., the reduplicate roots being treated in the same chapter.

Then follow the trilateral roots beginning with the root هقع as the author points out that the letter ‘Ain is not found in any Arabic word in conjunction with the letters Hā and Khā on account of these sounds being articulated by organs too near the place of emission of the letter ‘Ain.¹ Then follow the roots ههق, هكع, etc.

لم يأتلف العين والحاء مع شئ من سائر الحروف الى آخر¹
الهجاء وكذلك مع الخاء

This method has many disadvantages, as six combinations of the letters of a trilateral root are possible, and it is difficult for us, accustomed to strict alphabetical arrangements, to easily find the desired root. The same difficulty was experienced by native scholars, though the same system survived a considerable time, and two prominent later dictionaries which have come down to us are arranged on the same plan, namely, the *Tahḍīb al-Lughā* of al-Azhari and the *Muḥkam* of Ibn Sida. As these two later works are beyond the plan of my paper, I wish only to point out that they are the works which supplied the author of the *Lisān al-‘Arab*, and through him the author of the *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, with most of his material in the composition of his classical work. Neither of these latter appears to have seen a copy of the *Kitāb al-‘Ain*, and when they quote from it it is as a rule through the medium of the *Muḥkam* or the *Tahḍīb*.

The copy of the *Kitāb al-‘Ain*, as far as it has been printed, shows evidence of considerable revisionary work by later scholars, the latest of whom are the *Kūfī* grammarians Ibn al-A‘rabi (died A.H. 231) and Tha‘lab (died A.H. 291). More frequent is the mention of other *Baṣrian* grammarians, some of whom are hardly known by name. Those quoted more than once in the printed portion are:—

Zā‘ida

Abu Laila

‘Arrām

The latter especially seems to have subjected the work to close scrutiny, as he is cited twelve times in the printed text.

As regards the value of the explanations given by al-Khalīl it must cause surprise that he very often gives far more lucid interpretations than later authors whom I have been able to compare, and another feature is that he has not hesitated to quote in evidence verses of poets who were his contemporaries, such as *Bashshār ibn Burd* and *Hafṣ al-Amawī*, a procedure which was greatly disapproved of

by later scholars.¹ The work displays a breadth of vision which is in striking contrast with later scholars, and we can believe Ibn Moqaffa' who said that the intellect of al-Khalil was greater even than his knowledge. Still pondering over new ideas, al-Khalil at the age of seventy had the misfortune to run up against a pillar in the mosque of al-Baṣra, which caused his death (in A.H. 170). He had been a pioneer of the first order, but the too scientific plan of his work and the errors which later scholars are said to have found in his book, stated to be due to his pupil al-Laith, caused it to fall into disuse, so that copies have become extremely rare. An abridgment, with omission of all poetical quotation, which was made in Spain by Abu Bakr az-Zubaidi and of which several copies have been preserved, did not make the book any more popular, and I doubt whether this abridgment was ever in use outside Spain. Al-Khalil's influence was nevertheless very great, and a lasting monument to him are the innumerable references in the Kitāb of his pupil Sibōē, who too, in his large book on grammar, gives many explanations of rare words.

The younger contemporaries and pupils of Abu 'Amr and al-Khalil continued the work of reducing the inexhaustible treasures of the Arabic language to writing; their method was, however, different. We come to a period of monographs on various subjects, of which those of al-Asma'i and Abū Zaid, which have been published, are typical. Certain subjects were treated in small compendiums such as books on camels, horses, the human body, rain and weather, weapons, or on the use of the Hamza, which appears to have been very troublesome to early lexicographers, and which to classify properly was only solved by Jauhari in the *Ṣaḥāḥ*. These treatises as far as they are preserved culminate in the books of Ibn as-Sikkīt and the *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf* of Abū 'Ubaid. None of these books can be termed a Lexicon; it requires a

¹ This is specially mentioned as a fault by al-'Askarī in his *Kitāb at-Taṣḥīf*.

great loss of time to search for a word, and it may be the misfortune of the enquirer that the author of such treatise has omitted the word looked for, though probably of quite common occurrence. For all these works, including the *Gharib* and the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sida, which is largely based upon the former, a diligent scholar can easily supply from the materials accessible to us a fair amount of additions.

While the Baṣrian school of grammarians supplied the first lexicographer, his work was emulated by the most learned of the scholars of the Kūfic school. Abu 'Amr ash-Shaibānī is stated to have composed a dictionary, with the title "*Kitāb al-Jīm*", which had a different arrangement. He is stated to have been very reluctant in showing the book to anyone, and if any copies were taken they must have been lost at an early date. Occasionally one finds in the later lexicons a reference to this book which points to copies having been in circulation, and it is much to be regretted that we have not even a fragment preserved, because hardly any scholar of his time had a wider knowledge of the ancient poets, and his readings, quoted continually in commentaries, point to sound judgment and will generally be found acceptable to unbiassed critics.

The next great lexicon which has come down to us is again by a scholar of the Baṣrian school, the *Jamhara* of Ibn Duraid. Like al-Khalīl, he was of South-Arabian descent, his father apparently was a well-to-do merchant settled in al-Baṣra, and the son, Muḥammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Duraid, was given the best possible education for the times. Ibn Duraid's father died when he was quite young, and he was brought up by his uncle al-Ḥusain, who must have been a man of learning, as it is through him that Ibn Duraid received the knowledge of the works of Ibn al-Kalbī. He himself tells us that his uncle was on intimate terms with the grammarian Abū 'Uthmān al-Ushnāndānī, who seems to have acted as a tutor to the young nephew. He tells us that he was set the task of learning the *Mu'allāqa* of al-Ḥārith by heart while

his tutor had a meal with his uncle, but when examined had actually learned the whole *Dīwān* of this poet, for which he received a reward.

The number of teachers from whom Ibn Duraid received his knowledge was not great. I have gone through the *Isnāds* of a number of works, notably the *Amālī* of al-Qālī, which consists to the extent of nearly half its text of dictations from Ibn Duraid. As I hope in another place to deal with the sources of information for the composition of the *Amālī* of al-Qālī, an enumeration of his teachers, which, strangely, embodies all names I have been able to trace from other sources, will suffice. They are:—

- (1) Ahmad ibn 'Isa Abu Bishr al-'Ukli.
- (2) Sa'id ibn Hārūn Abū 'Uthmān al-Ushnāndānī.
- (3) Ismā'il ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Sim'ān.
- (4) Abu Ḥātim as-Sijistānī (died A.H. 255).
- (5) Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Khaḍir.
- (6) Damād.
- (7) Ar-Riyāshī (killed in the Negro rising A.H. 257).
- (8) As-Sakan ibn Sa'id al-Jurmūzī.
- (9) 'Abd al-Awwal ibn Marthad Abu Ma'mar.
- (10) 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh, nephew of al-Aṣma'i.
- (11) 'Ubaid Allāh ibn Mūsā.
- (12) His uncle Al-Ḥusain ibn Duraid.
- (13) Ibn Qutaiba, or rather his son Aḥmad.

The last-named is only once mentioned, while the chief authorities he continually mentions are those referred to under the numbers 7, 10, and especially 2.

The negro rising in al-Baṣra in the year A.H. 257, with its great bloodshed, forced the family of Ibn Duraid to emigrate from al-Baṣra to 'Oman. After wandering in South Arabia for some years, Ibn Duraid went to Persia, and it was there that he composed his great dictionary, dedicating it to the governor of Fārs, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Mikāl, and his son Ismā'il.

He tells us in the introduction that he was induced to write this book for his young but learned patron, because the book of al-Khalil was very difficult to use, due to the keenness of its author's intellect, which was in harmony with those days, but that for these days a book was needed which even the dullest could handle and find all he wanted.¹

He arranged his book in the usual order of the Arabic alphabet, but committed the same error as al-Khalil, influenced no doubt by considerations of grammar, of dividing the matter into several chapters. He leaves out the words beginning with the letter Alif; this, treated as the Hamza, receives a special chapter later. The first chapter is like that in the Kitāb al-'Ain dealing with the geminate roots, but he separates the reduplicate roots which form the next chapter. The third chapter, by far the most extensive of the work, deals with the trilateral roots, and these are arranged again on the principle adopted by al-Khalil, that in a paragraph all the six possible combinations of the three radical letters are to be dealt with. Those combinations which do not exist are also noted, with the remark that they are left out. The next chapters deal with the weak roots containing, as radicals, one of the semi-vowels and the Hamza; then come the paragraphs on words containing four or more radicals.

ولكنه ألف كتابه مشكلا لثقوب فهمه وذكاء فطنته¹
 وحدة اذهان أهل دهره وأملينا هذا الكتاب والنقص في
 الناس فاشٍ والعجز لهم شامل إلا خصائص كدرارى
 النجوم في اطراف الافق فسهلنا وعرفنا ووطأنا شأزه
 وأجريناه على تأليف الحروف المعجمة اذ كانت بالقلوب
 أعلق وفي الأسعاع انفذ وكان علم العامة لها كعلم الخاصة *

This should have exhausted the whole vocabulary, but now follow over 160 chapters dealing with peculiar or rare forms of nouns, followed by thirty further chapters on linguistical peculiarities (Nawādir), which deal with the names of sandals, arrows, days, etc., with the usual digressions so well known from the special treatises referred to above. Finally, there are chapters on words borrowed from foreign tongues, on proper names, and errors of poets.

In the course of his work the author quotes a large number of traditions, and especially verses of older poets: these differ in almost all cases from those cited by al-Khalil and, as later lexicographers could not pillage his work entirely, many are not quoted in the dictionaries which exist in printed editions. He also gives, frequently, explanations of verses of the Qur'ān, always on the authority of the Baṣrian grammarian, Abū 'Ubaida, but in a quaint way he states at times that he will rather not tell us the interpretation of the former.¹

A strange feature of the book is that he always gives under the letter ا words where this letter is not a radical, but the sign of the feminine, and my collaborator, Sūrati, considers it necessary to point out this glaring error of the author in the footnotes. My opinion is that he intentionally classifies these words in their wrong place on account of the ignorance of the people for whom the book was intended, as the words are also registered under the correct paragraphs. Another speciality is the enumeration of proper names and the continual striving to find the etymology of the words and names dealt with, and in these discussions he frequently refers to his other considerable work, the Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāq.² Ibn Duraid at times gives Aramaic and Persian words, and correctly, for words connected with plants, agriculture,

¹ والله أعلم بكتابه أو لا أقبل في هذا التفسير.

² I hardly need to state that he makes many a bad guess in this line.

etc., and has a large store of South-Arabian dialectic expressions.

At times he gives personal references about himself and other people, as e.g. he informs us that the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd told al-Aṣma'i that he was weaned on pap and mulberries. In another place he relates that Aṣma'i, when told that his rival Abū 'Ubaida explained a word differently, had uttered the remark: "What has that son of a wool-dyer to do with that!" That he must have been an inquisitive youth is also clear from the answer of his teacher, Riyāshī, when he was cornered with a question¹: "You children try to dive too deep into science."

In discussing the name "al-Jamratāni", which was applied to the confederation of the tribes al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b, Nahd and Numair, when Abū Ḥātim pointed out that two of these tribes had ceased to be a Jamra (a glowing charcoal) the precocious lad added that the third, Numair, had also been put out. "Who has done it?" asked the teacher and Ibn Duraid answered: Bughā. Abū Ḥātim smiled. This refers to the expedition of Bughā against the unruly tribe in A.H. 232, when many members of the tribe were brought as captives to al-Basra, and I believe this conversation took place about the same time, when Ibn Duraid was nine years of age.

Ibn Duraid was a strong partisan of the South-Arabian tribes as against those of the North, and in the fifteenth chapter of the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās, which deal with his quarrels with other poets, Abū Nuwās also championing the Yamanites, I found in an old manuscript of the *Dīwān* in the India Office on a spare leaf bound into the book an account of a quarrel which Ibn Duraid had in Persia with some members of the Tamīmī family Āl Mirdās, which led to open rupture and made Ibn Duraid produce a poem of fair length in which the scandals of the Tamīmīte tribes are

¹ About the etymology of the name ثَادِق.

set out. He would not disclose the name of the poet, and I think that it is by Ibn Duraid himself, who had ample knowledge of ancient Arab history, which unfortunately he only alludes to in the Jamhara, but very rarely discusses.

It is difficult to give the date when the Jamhara was composed, but the year 287 is approximately near the mark, and as Ibn Duraid was blessed with a very long life, he had the good fortune to dictate his book to numerous pupils, many of whom were the most distinguished grammarians of the succeeding generation. He is said to have dictated this extensive work from memory. Whether this is true or not, the fact remains that nearly all copies differ, with not inconsiderable additions and omissions, and what is more trying for the collator, with frequently altogether different sequence of the words explained. The book seems, however, soon to have been superseded by the later dictionaries, and most existing copies are of considerable age. The basis for the contemplated edition are the following manuscripts :—

(1) A manuscript in Haiderābād which contains the text as handed down by al-Qālī and Ibn Khalōḥ, revised by Abul 'Ala' al-Ma'arri.

(2) A copy at Bankipūr containing apparently the text as handed down by as-Sirāfi.

(3) A copy in the British Museum containing the first two (out of seven) parts of the work. This copy consists of three fragments; the first in a fine Spanish hand has the text of al-Qālī, the second portion is comparatively modern and faulty, and was no doubt copied to fill up the gap between the first and the third part, which is, in my opinion, in a hand of the fourth century of the Hijra, and represents a rather shorter text. The first and third part have very few errors.

(4) The Leiden Manuscript, which consists of three volumes representing two different recensions. The first volume contains a fuller text, but I have not been able to ascertain the name of the redactor, though at times Abū 'Umar, the *famulus* of Tha'lab, is mentioned in the margins, which notes

almost certainly have been copied by the scribe from his original. At the end are about 60 leaves in a quite modern Egyptian hand to fill the gap between the end of the original text of the manuscript and the beginning of the second volume. This text is faulty ; some errors are corrected by a German scholar in the margin, but not always with success. The second and third volumes are in an older hand, and contain the recension of as-Sirāfi, and in this portion the Leiden manuscript represents the fullest text of all manuscripts used, there being only very few omissions of articles discussed in the other manuscripts.¹

(5) A fragment of the latter portion of the work in the British Museum, which has the corrections of Abū 'Umar az-Zāhid, the *famulus* of Tha'lab, and I believe the copy was actually read under him and the corrections made in his presence. It has practically no errors.

(6) A copy of a manuscript of an abridgment of the Jamhara in an old hand, and made certainly before the end of the fourth century of the Hijra. This work omits all verses, etc., quoted in the original, and also abbreviates the explanations, but being carefully vocalized it is helpful where the copies of the larger work differ.

(7) Two Paris manuscripts ; the older one is unfortunately of no value, as it contains only the meagrest extracts of the work, one might say samples of it. The text is shorter than the abridgment referred to under the preceding number. The second manuscript has not been compared by me as yet, but according to the catalogue it is comparatively modern.²

Unfortunately, it is impossible to compare the several ancient copies which are in the libraries of Constantinople, even if only in cases of doubt, but I think that it will be possible with the manuscripts used to establish a complete and correct text of the voluminous work.

¹ This manuscript has been lent me with their customary liberality by the Leiden University.

² Both manuscripts have been lent me by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The publication of the *Jamhara* had the effect that other scholars began to compile similar works, and the next and very elaborate one was that of Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azhari. While Ibn Duraid had been sparing in quoting the names of the grammarians from whom he derived his knowledge and only a few names of Baṣrian scholars occur, al-Azhari has overloaded his book with them, and in addition he reverted to the alphabet established by al-Khalil. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see the first volume of the work, but Rescher has quoted the portion of it in which he states summarily his chief authorities. The British Museum possesses two portions stated to be parts of this work, but the larger volume, being devoid of all names of authorities and evidentiary verses, can only be an abridgment of the original, while the other copy containing parts of the letters ث and ر, displays the full scope of the author's method.

About the same time two other scholars in Persia worked upon dictionaries, which were entirely different in their arrangements, namely Abul Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Fāris and Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī. The work of the former came near to achieving an order to suit our ideal for easily finding the desired words, as he classified the roots in the order of the first radical letter. However, he felt the difficulty experienced by his predecessors in placing the Hamza, and his book begins with the letter B; in addition he separates again the geminate roots in each Kitāb, as he calls each section beginning with one of the 27 letters of the alphabet, and he has further the curious way of arranging that the first word of a section must have after its initial radical letter as the second radical the letter which follows it in the alphabet, and when he has come to the letter Yā, he lets the letters Alif, Ba, etc., follow. There are three manuscripts in the British Museum, the one copied by the grammarian Ibn al-Khashshāb, though not the oldest, being by far the best.

The *Diwān al-Ādāb* of al-Fārābī is modelled upon an entirely different system. In the first place he separates verbs and nouns. Then his arrangement is as follows: (1) Triliteral roots, which contain neither duplicate radicals, nor any half-vowels, (2) words with geminate letters, (3) words with a half-vowel as the first radical, (4) words with a half-vowel as second radical letter, (5) words containing more than three radicals, (6) words containing a Hamza. In each section there are many subdivisions, and scholars who love to quote a large number of words of peculiar formation will find such nicely accumulated in this work. The chief interest in this work, however, lies in another particularity which has had a lasting effect upon all future Arabic dictionaries. Within each section the words are not arranged according to their initial radical letter, but in alphabetical order of the last radical letter of words explained. I had a very good and old copy of this work lent me by a friend for a considerable time, and to my surprise I discovered that the author's nephew, al-Jauharī, had not only used this work extensively, but as far as I could trace the *Ṣaḥāḥ* does not contain anything which is not in the *Dīwān al-Ādāb*. The merit of al-Jauharī consequently lies only in the fact that he arranged the whole material in one alphabet, and so created the scheme upon which the *Qāmūs*, the *Lisān*, and *Tāj* are composed.

I have mentioned before, and it is generally known, that the lexicographers quote many verses from ancient poets as evidence for the meaning of the words explained. Now what was quite legitimate for the later lexicographers, who collected their material from all manner of sources, was hardly permissible to the earlier ones, and we find that Ibn Duraid only very rarely quotes the same verses as are quoted in the *Kitāb al-Ain*, and so again al-Azharī refrains wherever possible from giving the same verses as are cited by Ibn Duraid, but we find the same quotations in the works of Ibn Fāris, al-Fārābī, and Azharī. These latter three, however, availed

themselves very extensively of works by Kūfi grammarians, and excerpted, e.g., the books of Ibn as-Sikkīt very extensively, while the two earlier authors were standing solely on the ground of the Baṣrian school, and what of their works found admission in the Lisān was principally through the medium of the Muḥkam of Ibn Sīda.

Of the earlier dictionaries which I have had an opportunity to examine I must mention the *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* of al-Harawī, who was a pupil of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azhārī. His book, besides being concerned only with the explanation of difficult words found in traditions, is of comparatively small scope. He has, however, a proper alphabetical arrangement according to the initial radical as we understand it, and there can hardly be any doubt that it was due to his influence that Zamakhsharī arranged his two dictionaries, the *Fā'iḳ* and the *Asās*, on the model of the *Gharīb* of al-Harawī.

When these dictionaries are printed and made generally accessible will be the time to recast the whole material in such a manner that all explanations whether correct or false can be found at a glance. Such an undertaking would be the duty of scholars in the countries where Arabic is spoken, and the work would not be superseded by the Arabic Dictionary, which Professor Fischer contemplates publishing during the next few years, and which I understand is near completion.

Since reading my paper I find that a copy of the *Kitāb al-Jīm* has come down to us and is among the treasures of the library of the Escorial, which are unfortunately of rather difficult access, and Derenbourg in his Catalogue does not state anything as to the arrangements and contents. I have also been favoured by the Bibliothèque Nationale with the loan of the modern copy of the *Jamhara*. It contains the latter two-thirds of the work, following the recension of Sīrāfi, but the scribe has made his work easy by omitting large sections, and the copy is quite useless for the vocalization, which is scanty and often faulty.

Arabic and Persian Metres

By R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S. (retired)

A FEW years ago I prepared a statistical comparison of the metres used by Hafiz in his Persian ghazals and those employed by the Urdu poet Atish, which appears in this Society's *Journal* (*JRAS.* 1917, p. 383). I have recently, in connexion with the revision of a translation which I made twelve years ago of the Arabic poet Mutanabbi, the publication of which remains delayed by various reasons, mainly financial, completed an analysis of the metres employed by Mutanabbi. In Dieterici's edition of Mutanabbi there are 287 separate poems of varying length, the average being about 19 baits. The metres of these poems arranged in order of frequency are as follows :—

Ṭawīl . . .	58
Wāfir . . .	50
Kāmil . . .	46
Basīṭ . . .	43
Khafif . . .	24
Mutaqārib . . .	24
Munsariḥ . . .	24
Rajaz . . .	8
Sarī' . . .	6
Ramal . . .	3
Mujtass . . .	1

Total . . 287

It is interesting to note how the metres employed by the poets of the days of the Ignorance in the seven great Suspended Poems maintain their popularity. The first three Mu'allaqahs are in the Ṭawīl metre, the fourth and sixth in the Kāmil, while the fifth and the last are in the Wāfir and the Khafif respectively.

I have also, with the aid of the admirable synopsis of the metres contained in Platts's most useful edition of the *Gulistan* of Sa'di, prepared similar figures for the 657 separate poetical passages, which are to be found in the *Gulistan*. These, arranged as before in order of frequency, are as below :—

Hazaj . . .	172
Khafif . . .	167
Mutaqārib . . .	78
Mujtass . . .	78
Ramal . . .	60
Muzāri' . . .	29
Sarī' . . .	22
Ṭawīl . . .	14
Kāmil . . .	10
Munsariḥ . . .	9
Basīṭ . . .	8
Wāfir . . .	6
Rajaz . . .	4

Total . 657

The verses in the Ṭawīl, Kāmil, and Wāfir metres are not in Persian, but in Arabic, and this remark applies also to the verses in the Basīṭ metre, with but one exception. It may be interesting to combine these figures with the statistics for Hafiz and Atish. The results are shown in the following combined table:—

	Mutanabbi	Sa'di	Hafiz	Atish
Ṭawīl . . .	58	14	1	<i>nil</i>
Wāfir . . .	50	6	<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i>
Kāmil . . .	46	10	<i>nil</i>	1
Basīṭ . . .	43	8	<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i>
Khafif . . .	24	167	11	9
Mutaqārib . . .	24	78	5	5
Munsariḥ . . .	24	9	4	2
Rajaz . . .	8	4	11	<i>nil</i>
Sarī' . . .	6	22	1	<i>nil</i>
Ramal . . .	3	60	204	271
Mujtass . . .	1	78	145	49
Hazaj . . .	<i>nil</i>	172	87	108
Muzāri' . . .	<i>nil</i>	29	104	126
Totals . . .	287	657	573	571

These figures indicate very plainly indeed that although the Persian and Urdu poets, the latter being in the matter of metre close imitators of the Persians, have borrowed nearly all their metres from Arabic poetry, they have in the main neglected those metres, which were most popular among the Arabs, and have instead of using them employed and developed metres, which were used to a slight extent by the Arabs.

Similar results are obtainable from a consideration of the long poems termed *Maṣnavīs*, which form such a large proportion of the bulk of Persian poetry, each of which is written throughout in the same metre. Five special metres have been used exclusively for this purpose by the chief Persian poets. These are the *Hazaj* and *Ramal*, each of which is used in two slightly differing forms, and the *Sarī'*, *Khafif*, and *Mutaqārib*, each of which is used in one form only.

The most popular of all these metres is the *Mutaqārib*, used in a catalectic form — — — | — — — | — — — | — — || repeated, the last foot of each hemistich being either *Maqṣūr* or *Maḥzūf*, i.e. of the type *فَعُولُ* or *فَعْلُ*.

This is the metre of that enormously lengthy epic, the *Shāhnāma* of *Firdausi*, of both the *Sikandar-nāmas* of *Nizāmī*, of the familiar *Būstān* of *Sa'di*, of the famous *Sāqī-nāma* of *Zuhūrī*, and many other *Sāqī-nāmas* written in rivalry or imitation, and also of later *Shāhnāmas* written by *Hātifi* and *Qāsimi*.

The *Khafif* — — — | — — — | — — || repeated is the metre of the *Ḥadīqa* of *Sanāi*, of the *Ḥaft Paikar* of *Nizāmī*, and of the *Silsilat-uz-zahab* of *Jāmī*. In this modification of the *Khafif* metre the first foot is *Sālim* (sound), i.e. does not deviate from the original metrical standard, the second foot is *Makhbūn*, i.e. changes from — — — — to — — — —, while the last foot is *Makhbūn* combined with *Maqṣūr* or *Maḥzūf* or with *Maqtū'*, either simple or accompanied by *Tasbīgh*, the insertion of a long vowel in the last syllable of the foot.

The *Sarī'* is — — — | — — — | — — || repeated,

the first two feet being Maṭwī, i.e. changed by a shortening of the second syllable from — — — — | — — — — |, while the last foot of each hemistich is both Maṭwī and either Mauqūf or Maksūf. This metre is employed in the Qirān-us-Sa'dain of Khusrau, the Majma'-ul-Abkar of 'Urfī, and the Makhzan-ul-Asrār of Nizāmī, which latter poem begins with a double Taskīn, i.e. a fusion of two short syllables into one long syllable, in the first hemistich, the whole bait being :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هست کلید در گنج حکیم

The first form of the Hazaj used in romantic Maṣnavīs is the ordinary trimeter catalectic form — — — — | — — — — | — — — — || repeated, as in the opening line of Jāmī's Yusuf Zulaikhā :—

الهی غنچه امید بگشای گلی از روضه جاوید بنمای

Besides the poem just named, two other poems bearing the same name and dealing with the same subject, written by Nāzīmī and Āzar, and similarly several poems on the subject of the loves of Shirīn and Khusrau, written by Nizāmī, Amir Khusrau, 'Urfī, and Qāsimi, as well as the older Maṣnavi entitled Wis u Rāmīn and the Gulshan-i-Raz of Mahmud, are all written in this easy and attractive metre.

The other form of the Hazaj metre used in Maṣnavīs is — — — — | — — — — | — — — — || the first foot being Akhrab, the second Maqbūz, and the last either Maḥzūf or Maqṣūr. A further possibility in this metre is the substitution of one long syllable for the two short syllables, which adjoin each other at the end of the first foot and the beginning of the second foot. The very numerous Maṣnavīs dealing with the loves of Laili and Majnun, by Nizāmī, Khusrau, Jāmī, Maktabī, Hātifi, Qāsimi, and others, are all in this metre, as well as the Tuḥfat-ul-'Irāqain of Khāqānī and the Naldaman of Akbar's court-poet, Faiẓi.

The common type of the Ramal metre used in Maṣnavīs is the ordinary trimeter catalectic, — — — — | — — — — | — — — — |

— ◡ — || repeated, which is the metre of *the* Maṣnavi par excellence of Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Din Rūmī, which begins

بشنو از نی چون حکایت میکند وز جدائیها شکایت میکند

This is also the metre of the well-known Mantiq-ut-Ṭair of Farīd-ud-Din 'Attār and of the Salaman Absāl of Jāmī.

The remaining variety of the Ramal is by far the least common of the Maṣnavi metres. It is — ◡ — — | ◡ — — — || repeated, the first foot being Sālim, the second Makhbūn, and the last Makhbūn combined with Maqṣūr or Maḥzūf or with Maqtū' taken alone or in conjunction with Tasbīgh. The only Maṣnavi of note in which it is employed is the Subḥat-ul-Asrār of Jāmī, who was the first poet to write a separate Maṣnavi in each of the seven different Maṣnavi metres, which have just been detailed.

The special metre with variations used for the Quatrain (rubā'ī) in Persian has been developed from the Hazaḡ, though it does not retain the typical Sālim Hazaḡ foot — — — — in any of its feet. Technically, there are twenty-four possible varieties. Sixteen of these are derived from the metrical scheme — — ◡ | ◡ — — ◡ | ◡ — — ◡ | ◡ — || the first foot being Akhrab, the second and third Makfūf, and the last either Ahtam or Majbūb, i.e. either of the form فَعُولُ or of the form فَعَلَ.

Each of the three adjoining pairs of short syllables may be reduced by Taskīn to one long syllable. This gives eight possible variations, and the possibility of each of these existing along with either عُولُ or عَلُ as the type of the last syllable of the line gives rise to a total number of sixteen variations.

The remaining eight variations are all similarly derived from the metrical scheme — — ◡ | ◡ — ◡ — | ◡ — — ◡ | ◡ — || in which the second foot is Maqbūz, while the remaining three feet are as before. The introduction of

Taskīn in this generates four possible varieties, and the combination of each of these with either *عَوْل* or *عَلْ* as the type of the final syllable makes a total of eight.

As an instance of a triple use of Taskīn in the first scheme, thereby creating a hemistich consisting of ten long syllables, the following hemistich of 'Umar Khayyam may be cited—

او داند او داند او داند او

which Fitzgerald has reproduced in his line—

“He knows about it all, He knows, He knows.”

As has been remarked by Blochmann in his excellent little book, *The Prosody of the Persians*, which was published in Calcutta in 1872 and is now, it is feared, out of print, the invention of the Rubā'ī as well as that of the Masnāvī is due to the Persians, also that of the short Ghazal, which is practically a miniature Qasīda with the takhalluṣ of the poet (yet another Persian invention or innovation) introduced in the last line.

A still further feature of a novel nature introduced by the Persian poets is the addition of the Radif, a constant and invariable word or collection of words, after the Ravi, the real rhyming letter which runs through the poem. In Hafiz, for instance, we find Ghazals ending with such collocations as

می فرستمت و تو بی چیزی نیست و درویشانست

following the real rhyming letter of the Ghazal.

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